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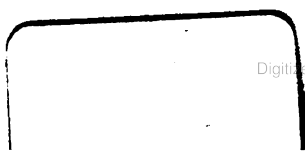
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THE HISTORY
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
IN
AMERICA.

BY JAMES BOWDEN.

"Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world : and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.

"Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God ?"—1 JOHN v. 4, 5.

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P R E F A C E.

To investigate the rise and to trace the progress of a particular section of the religious community is an interesting object, and when it has reference to a people such as the Society of Friends, whose principles and practices so prominently distinguish them among others of the Christian name, the interest of such a pursuit becomes greatly enhanced. The design of the following sheets is to record the history of this people in America,—a country in which they experienced the extremes of entire freedom of conscience on the one hand, and cruel religious persecution on the other.

There exist at the present time on the North American continent nearly six hundred distinct religious assemblies of the Society of Friends, scattered over the region extending from Canada and Maine in the north, to the Carolinas and Tennessee in the South, and from its cities and ports on the Atlantic, to the countries lying west of the Mississippi. These compose in all seven separate and independent Yearly Meetings, and form in the aggregate four-fifths of the whole number of this people in the world. The consideration of this fact is calculated therefore to excite an inquiry such as that to which this work is devoted.

It is true, that no inconsiderable portions of the valuable histories both of Sewel and Gough, have reference to the proceedings of Friends in America. The details, however, which these furnish are confined principally to the sufferings of some of their early members or ministers in New England, and to transactions of the Society within the limits of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. The present work embraces a much wider field, and aims to exhibit a distinct history of each individual Yearly Meeting of Friends in America from its rise down to a period comparatively recent.

The new and unpublished materials relating to the Society of Friends in the western world, which, under many favourable circumstances the writer has been enabled to collect from various sources on both sides of the Atlantic, together with an easy access to numerous printed works of ancient date and of great scarcity, have placed within his reach the means of effecting the object to a much larger extent than he could have anticipated. And here he desires to acknowledge the kind and valuable assistance which he has derived both from meetings and individuals, in the readiness with which they have allowed him access to MSS., including some thousands of letters of early Friends; with other important historical documents of more recent date.

In studying the history of the Society of Friends, it has appeared to the author important, rightly to understand the religious character and condition of the population amongst which our early Friends arose. With this view the chapter on the discovery and colonization of North America has been introduced, and though somewhat extended, it is hoped that its details will not be considered inappropriate.

It had been intended also to accompany this work with an

introductory essay on the various dispensations of Divine Providence to man, and to notice the remarkable series of events, by which way was gradually prepared for the introduction into the world of the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as well as to give a brief view of the history of the Christian church down to the time of George Fox; but, as observations of this kind appear to be more suited to a general history of Friends, they have not been introduced into this more restricted work. Before passing from this subject, however, it may be remarked, that a prominent object in penning the essay in question, was to show that the Protestant Reformation and the subsequent rise of the Puritan professors of Christianity, were circumstances in the overruling providences of the Divine Hand, calculated to prepare the hearts of many for the reception of those spiritual and primitive doctrines of the Christian religion, which George Fox and his associates enunciated and revived, after the long and dark night of the Romish apostacy. In tracing the history of Christianity, the reflective mind cannot fail, we think, to be impressed with the gradually progressive nature of the Divine dispensations. It might be expected that in treating upon the history of a particular section of the Christian church, some systematic account would appear of the religious views by which it is distinguished; but for the reasons just advanced, in the present instance it has not been attempted.

In reading this history there may be those who in reference to some of its early chapters, may think that the cruel and anti-christian conduct exhibited by some of the religious bodies in America towards Friends might have been revived with less prominence, in deference to the feelings of those,

who, although professing the same religious opinions, now entertain views far different from those of their predecessors, as to the toleration of individual sentiment in religion. But the historian, to be faithful to his trust, cannot with justice listen to such pleadings, however congenial they may be to his own feelings. It is his duty to lay before the reader the transactions of the times, without considerations of this sort. If such an objection were admitted, it would apply not only to all ecclesiastical history, but to general history also, and it will at once be seen that the practical carrying out of the principle alluded to, would render histories extremely partial and unsatisfactory.

Others again in perusing these pages, may be inclined to censure as stubborn and self-willed, the conduct of those who exhibited on many occasions, their inflexible adherence to conscientious conviction. It was observed of Friends in the time of George Fox, that they were *as stiff as trees*. Their refusal to pay tithes, to perform military service, to take oaths, &c., in the sure prospect of sufferings, gave rise to this remark. This particular trait in the character of Friends, has been maintained from their rise, with greater or smaller exception, down to the present day. Clarkson, in noticing this uncompromising characteristic, thus speaks, "It has been an established rule with them, from the formation of the Society, not to temporize, or violate their conscience; or, in other words, not to do that which, as a body of Christians, they believe to be wrong, though the usages of the world, or the government of the country under which they live, should require it; but rather to submit to the frowns and indignation of the one, and the legal penalties annexed to their disobedience by the other." After alluding to the testimony

which Friends bear against what they believe to be wrong, he proceeds, "this noble practice of *bearing testimony*, by which a few individuals attempt to stem the torrent of immorality, by opposing themselves to its stream; and which may be considered as a living martyrdom, does, in a moral point of view, a great deal of good to those who conscientiously adopt it. It recalls first principles to their minds. It keeps in their remembrance the religious rights of man. It teaches them to reason upon principle, and to make their estimates by a moral standard. It is productive both of patience and of courage. It occasions them to be kind, and attentive, and merciful to those who are persecuted and oppressed. It throws them into the presence of Divinity, when they are persecuted themselves. In short, it warms their moral feelings, and elevates their religious thoughts. Like oil it keeps them from rusting. Like a whet-stone, it gives them a new edge. Take away this practice from the constitution of the members of this Society, and you pull down a considerable support of their moral character." "It is a great pity," he continues, "that, as professing Christians, we should not more of us incorporate this noble principle individually into our religion. We concur unquestionably in customs, through the fear of being reputed singular, of which our hearts do not always approve; though nothing is more true, than that a Christian is expected to be singular, with respect to the corruptions of the world. What an immensity of good would be done, if cases of persons, choosing rather to suffer than to temporize, were so numerous as to attract the general notice of men! Would not every case of suffering, operate as one of the most forcible lessons that could be given, to those who should see it? And how long would that infamous

system have to live, which makes a distinction between political expediency and moral right ?”*

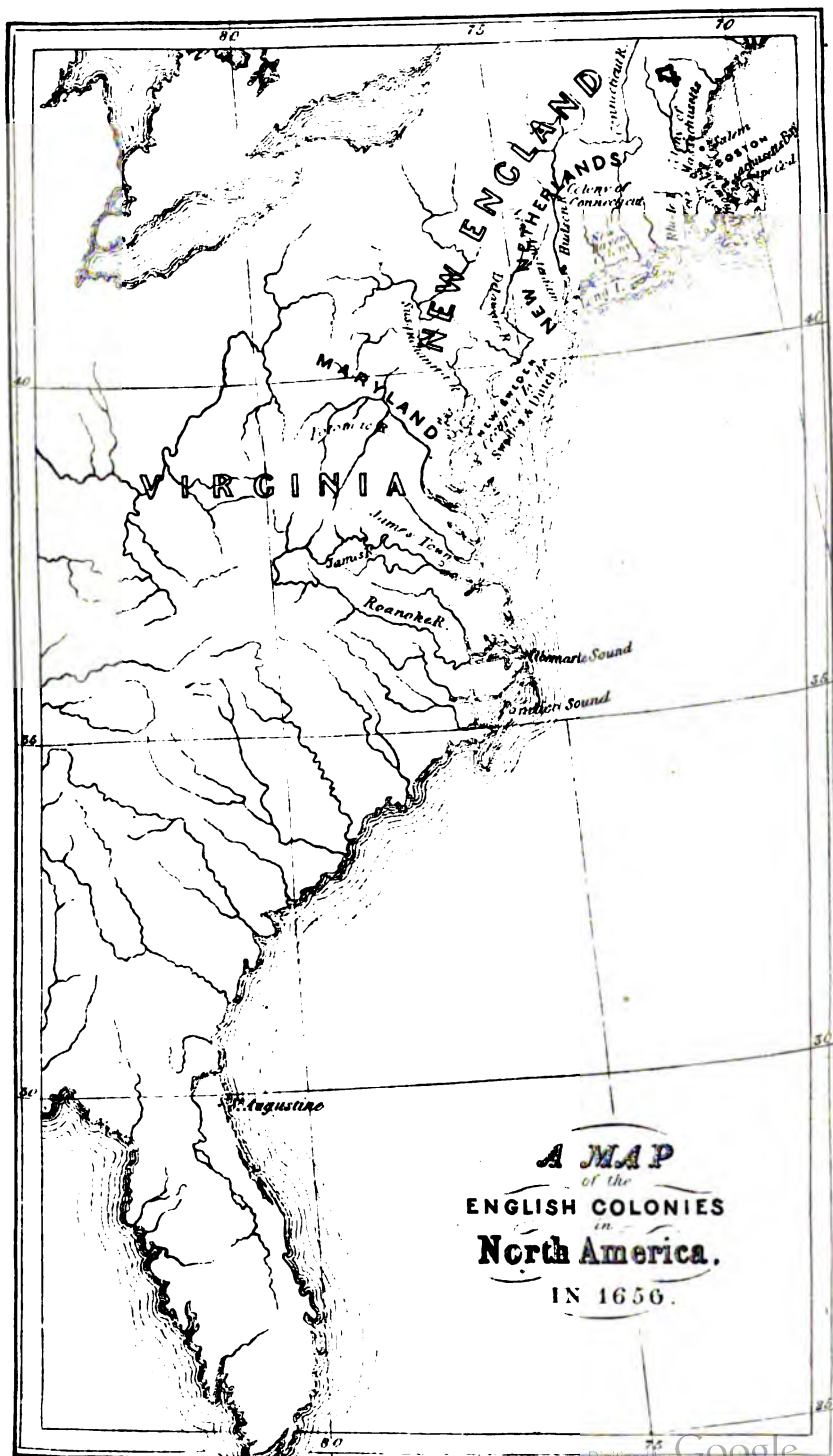
In the course of this history the reader will meet with many biographical sketches of the lives of those who were prominently and devotedly engaged in promoting the Redeemer's kingdom in the western world, by the public advocacy of the simple and spiritual views of this Society. The Christian constancy, the inflexible perseverance, the meekness, the patience, and the holy resignation exhibited by them, under a variety of trying circumstances, and many of them under a most cruel and barbarous persecution, and in some cases even to the taking away of their lives, offer to the world an undeniable testimony to the unfailing support of the faithful in the everlasting power of Jehovah, and to the consolations and joys experienced by the true believers in Christ.

With a view the more distinctly to point out the geographical situation of meetings and places, and to enable the reader the more readily to trace the course of those who travelled in gospel labours in America, maps and plans will be occasionally introduced. Fac-similes of original documents and of letters of early Friends, will also be given.

In conclusion, the writer would observe, that if in the following pages he has been successful in furnishing his friends with reading from which they may derive instruction, and of inducing among them, more especially the younger classes of the Society, an increased interest in the history of their own people, he will have the pleasing reflection that his labours have not been in vain.

London, Ninth Month; 1850.

* Portraiture of Quakerism, vol. iii. p. 198.



A MAP
of the
ENGLISH COLONIES
in
North America.
IN 1656.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

America unknown to the Ancients—Icelandic MS. accounts of Northmen—The discovery of America by Columbus and Cabot—The expedition of Cortereal, a PORTUGUESE, to North America—He kidnaps the Indians for slaves—The FRENCH attempt to form colonies under Verazzani and Cartier—The emigration of the French Huguenots and Romanists—The SPANIARDS endeavour to plant settlements in Florida, under Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, Fernando de Soto, and Don Pedro Melendez—The ENGLISH, under Gilbert and Raleigh, attempt to establish colonies in Carolina—The settlement of Virginia—The character of the settlers—Disastrous conflict with the Indians—The introduction of Negro Slavery—The persecution of the Puritans in England—James I. grants them a charter for a province in New England—They settle at Plymouth—The Massachusetts Company—The religious intolerance of the Puritans in America—Their character—Their persecutions in Massachusetts—Roger Williams is exiled, and forms a settlement at Providence—Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomians are banished, and establish a colony on Rhode Island—The persecution and banishment of the Baptists by the Puritans—The colonization of New Hampshire and Connecticut—The Dutch settle at New York—The Swedish colony of Delaware—Maryland colonized by Papists and others, under Lord Baltimore—Carolina and its government under Locke's "Constitutions;" its success under John Archdale, a Friend—Recapitulation—Concluding remarks.

THE geography of Europe, Asia, and Africa, appears to have been well understood by the ancients, but they entertained not the remotest idea of the existence of the vast continent of

America. Who were the first discoverers of the western world, still remains doubtful. "The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries," at Copenhagen, a few years since, published a work to prove that Northmen, in the tenth century, were its original discoverers. The work is compiled chiefly from Icelandic historical manuscripts. Much doubt has been thrown on the authenticity of these ancient documents, yet no sufficient reason has been shown, for altogether rejecting the conclusion that the North American continent was visited by Northmen, although great uncertainty exists as to the portion of the coast on which they may have landed. No desire, however, of inquiring into the secrets of the Atlantic, arose, until suggested towards the close of the fifteenth century by the surpassing genius of Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa.

Columbus, under the auspices of Isabella of Spain, set sail in the Sixth Month of 1492, on the maritime enterprise, which has so remarkably signalized his name. He conceived the idea that it was practicable to reach the distant and unknown shores of eastern Asia, by crossing the Atlantic, but without any expectation that this attempt would lead to the discovery of a new continent. After a sail of two months, he descried one of the Bahama Islands, and subsequently discovered Cuba and Hayti; but returned without touching the continent of America. In the Ninth Month of the following year, this enterprising navigator left the shores of Spain on a second western expedition; but his voyage extended no further than two of the Caribbee Islands, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. A third expedition followed, and early in 1498, he touched that part of the continent of South America, near which the Orinoco pours its vast stream into the Mexican Gulf.

The achievements of Columbus appear to have kindled in the hearts of the emulous, a desire for renown similar to that which characterized his name, and in the year 1496, John Cabot obtained from Henry VII., for himself and three sons, a patent for discovery and conquest of unknown lands. John Cabot was a Venetian merchant, who resided occasionally in Bristol. Little is known of his history further than that he was wealthy, in-

telligent, and fond of maritime discovery. Sebastian his son, was born in Bristol in 1477. With his son Sebastian he set sail from Bristol, and in the Fourth Month of the same year came in sight of the cliffs of Labrador. No account of this voyage has been preserved, further than the statement of this discovery; it is supposed, however, that the navigators returned pretty directly to England, an opinion which is corroborated by the following entry in the privy purse expenses of Henry VII.—“10th August, 1497. To hym that found the New Isle £10.” If we reject the claims of the Danish antiquarians for the Northmen of the tenth century, to the Cabots must be attributed the first discovery of the western continent, being fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, touched the shore of that part now termed Columbia, and almost two years before the coasts of South America were explored by Amerigo Vespucci; from whom, under the supposition that he was the earliest discoverer of the New World, the name of America is derived.

A second western voyage was undertaken by Sebastian Cabot in the spring of 1498, but with reference to commerce more than to discovery. In this enterprise Henry VII. was a partner. Cabot again reached the coast of Labrador, and turning southward, proceeded along the shores of the Continent about as far as Albemarle Sound in North Carolina.

As it is not within the design of the present work to particularise all the enterprises of those, who, from different motives, soon made their way to the newly discovered continent; but merely, by way of introduction, to sketch an outline of the discovery and colonization of North America, it will be sufficient for this purpose briefly to allude to some of the most striking of these adventures.

Following the second expedition of the Cabots, the next important discovery was made in 1500, by Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese. Having reached Newfoundland, he sailed northward until he came to a long range of coast; to which, in reference to the ability of the natives for labour, he gave the name of Labrador. It is stated, that he found the country covered with timber, and that its Indian inhabitants were a robust and hardy race.

Cortereal seeing that they were well fitted for labour, captured fifty-three of them, whom he sold as slaves on his return to Portugal. Trafficking in the bodies of men was an enormity, with which the Portuguese had, for more than half a century, made themselves familiar; and to that nation must be attributed the lasting disgrace of having been the first to connect the abominations of the Slave-trade with the American continent. It is said that this navigator perished in an affray with the Indians, in a second voyage which he undertook for the purpose of kidnapping more of them. These voyages of Gaspar Cortereal are all that history records of PORTUGUESE expeditions to North America.

The FRENCH, though less of a maritime nation than either the Spanish or Portuguese, were desirous of participating in the advantages, which territorial conquest might afford them in the new world. With this view, Francis I. employed Juan Verazzani, a skilful Florentine navigator, to sail for its distant shores. Passing by way of Madeira, and having encountered a severe tempest, Verazzani, in the Eleventh Month 1523, came in sight of the coast of North Carolina, and sailing northward, he entered the inlets which afterwards became the harbours of New York and Newport. The land which he passed, being covered with gentle and finely wooded hills, reminded him of Rhodes, and from hence may be traced the derivation of Rhode Island. The expedition continuing its course northward, proceeded as far as Nova Scotia. While the natives of Carolina welcomed the strangers to their shores, those of the northern region were hostile and suspicious. The visits of the Portuguese to the latter, for the nefarious object of procuring slaves, are sufficient to explain this difference.

The voyage of Verazzani which extended along seven hundred miles of coast, including a large portion of the present United States, and most of British North America, gave to the French some claim to a considerable extent of territory, on the assumption of discovery; and with the desire of exploring still further and of settling colonies in those parts, an expedition for these purposes was formed under Cartier in 1534, and another in 1541. These and several other subsequent attempts of the French

nation to plant colonies in North America, entirely failed, until the settlement at Port Royal, now Annapolis, in 1605, under De Monts, a Calvinist. He obtained from the French king permission for the free exercise of religion, for himself, and for those Huguenot emigrants who accompanied him. The French Catholics, whose attention was directed to the new settlement, became anxious to proselyte the Indians to their religion, and the arrival of Jesuits with this express object, quickly followed. Biart and De Beincourt of this order, went to reside among the Indians of the Algonquin race, and were successful in inducing the Penobscot and other native tribes of Maine, to embrace the Popish religion, which to this day is professed by the New England Indians. Under Champlain, monks from France also found their way to Canada, but the presence of these proselyting Romanists led to dissensions between them and the Calvinists, which impeded the success of the colony. The French, during their settlement in Canada, having quarrelled with the English, were driven from their possessions, but they were reinstated by treaty in 1632. The extension of American colonization was now undertaken by the French with increased vigour, and under the direction of Champlain in 1642, a chain of settlements was formed, extending from Quebec to Montreal, and in a few years after as far west as the shores of Lake Ontario.

Whilst the French were endeavouring to extend their territories on this vast continent, the SPANIARDS, encouraged by their successes in the South, strove also for territorial acquisitions in North America. In 1512, on the day called Palm Sunday, or in Spanish, "Pasqua Florida," Ponce de Leon, an enterprising Spaniard, discovered an extensive range of country crowned with magnificent forest, and to this, in honour of the day on which he discovered it, he gave the name of Florida. Returning to Spain, he obtained authority from the king to lead an expedition to the country he had discovered. This object however he did not live to accomplish, but died on his passage thither. Notwithstanding the death of Ponce de Leon, the expedition proceeded, and soon found its way to Florida, but no attempt at colonization appears to have been made by the adventurers, and little is known of the

result of this and some other expeditions of the Spaniards, except that they followed the example of their neighbours the Portuguese, in the iniquitous practice of kidnapping the unsuspecting Indians for slaves. The idea of planting a colony in Florida, was a favourite one with the Spaniards, and in 1528, they made another attempt, on a considerable scale ; no less than six hundred men in five vessels, having embarked for the object under Narvaez, a distinguished adventurer of the time. The people in this expedition, being regarded by the natives as invaders of their country, were met on their landing by signs of much opposition, but fear of European power soon caused the Indians to retreat into the depths of their unknown forests. Under the impression that golden treasures existed in the country, Narvaez determined to explore the interior. To their dismay, however, they found their hopes of wealth, a perfect chimera, and, after traversing a rugged and mountainous country, interspersed with extensive lagoons and marshes, and maintaining frequent conflicts with the exasperated Indians, a remnant only of the inland party returned to relate their sad adventures.

The calamitous issue of the attempt of Narvaez, so far from extinguishing the desire for colonial enterprise in the new country, seems to have led to more determined efforts for its prosecution. In 1539, Fernando de Soto, who had accompanied Pizarro in his Peruvian invasion, formed the bold idea of settling a kingdom in Florida, with himself for its supreme head, and with this view he sailed from Spain with nine hundred adventurers. Aware of the disasters which had befallen those who had preceded him, in consequence of the hostility of the natives, Soto was anxious to avoid a similar danger by endeavouring to conciliate them. The hatred of the Indians towards their heartless invaders, was, however too deep to be effaced by professions of Spanish friendship, and the attempts to reconcile them entirely failed. "If they were honest," replied the natives, "they would stay at home and cultivate their own soil, instead of coming to distant climates to expose themselves by their robberies, to the execration of mankind." After a long and disastrous attempt to find mineral wealth in North America, Soto died in Florida, and his party,

having concluded to abandon the country, made their way to Mexico.

Notwithstanding that the Spaniards made many efforts to plant colonies in North America, not a single permanent settlement had been formed by them until 1565, when Don Pedro Melendez received a commission from Philip II. to make another trial, and also to extirpate as heretics, some Huguenots who had landed in Florida. Melendez sailed, and crossing the Atlantic, took up his position on the river (St.) Augustine, and founded the town now known by that name. Excepting those on the Mexican isthmus, (St.) Augustine therefore may be considered as the oldest European settlement on the continent of North America. The Spaniards kept possession of Florida for two centuries from this date, but with scarcely any extension of their settlement, and as late as 1830 this country, containing an area somewhat greater than all England, had a population of only about 19,000 free persons. The love of this people for gold, which they had so easily and so abundantly obtained in Peru and Mexico, unfitted them for colonizing those countries in which agricultural labour only was available, and to this cause may be attributed the failure of the Spanish to extend their settlements in North America.

The ENGLISH, though the discoverers of America, were evidently less earnest than either the French or Spaniards to form settlements in that country. This may be partly accounted for by the circumstance, that the public mind was much occupied on the subject of the Protestant Reformation, and some other topics of an engrossing character; it would be difficult otherwise to understand why nearly a century should have passed away before any considerable effort was made by them to plant a colony in the newly discovered world. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of distinguished rank, was the first to form a plan for settling an English colony in North America, an enterprise in which he was much encouraged and assisted by Sir Walter Raleigh. He put to sea in 1583, with five vessels, containing in all two hundred and sixty persons, "skilled in every faculty;" of whom carpenters, masons, and more particularly those skilled in work-

ing and refining metals, formed a considerable part. In about three months the expedition reached the banks of Newfoundland, where Gilbert found no less than thirty-six vessels busily engaged in the fishery; over these he assumed an absolute control, and by virtue of the patent granted to him by Elizabeth, he claimed a territory extending two hundred miles from the harbour of (St.) John's, where he then happened to be. In pursuance of the more immediate object of his voyage, he quitted Newfoundland, and bent his course for the south, but from this time he encountered a series of disasters, which prevented him from landing on the coast, and after witnessing the wreck of one of his vessels, and the departure of two others for England on account of sickness, Gilbert prudently determined to return home. On the passage they were overtaken by a hurricane, in which Gilbert's vessel suddenly disappeared, leaving but a small one reduced almost to a wreck, which returned alone.

The disastrous result of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition did not discourage the English from making another attempt to gain a footing in the New World. Raleigh, who was a man of distinguished genius and enterprise, undertook at his sole expense a grand scheme for the purpose. His first step was to send out two small vessels to explore the coasts; and these, favoured with a successful voyage, reached the shores of North Carolina in safety. The natives, who were described as "handsome men, and very courteous in their demeanour," soon flocked to the vessels, and were treated with much kindness. After coasting a little further along North Carolina, the exploring party returned, and reported that "the soil was the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful and wholesome of all the world," and that the natives were "most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason." Raleigh was delighted with the favourable account, and the nation looked forward with high expectations to the undeveloped treasures of the new continent. Queen Elizabeth, gratified with the prospect of thus extending her dominions, accepted the honour of giving a name to the promising country, and as a memorial of her single state of life, it was named VIRGINIA.

Raleigh now lost no time in preparing another expedition, and at the expense of nearly all his fortune, (for Elizabeth was too cautious and penurious to expend the public money in this way) he equipped, in 1585, a fleet of seven vessels, containing one hundred and eight colonists, placing them under the command of Greenville, a man of considerable ability. The vessels reached Virginia in safety, and after exploring the coast for more than two hundred miles, the emigrants landed at Roanoke. "We have discovered the main," remarks one of them, "to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven. It is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world; for the soil is of a huge unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely."* The English had not long occupied Roanoke ere they unhappily commenced a hostile course towards the natives. In their early conflicts with these sons of the forest, they were enabled by the use of fire-arms to drive them into the woods, but they soon found to their dismay that they had made a dangerous and terrible foe of the North American Indian. The tribes of Carolina rightly estimating the strength of their new enemy, united for the purpose of driving the English from their country, and had not Drake arrived with a fleet in which the colonists were conveyed home, the result would doubtless have been fatal to them all.

Raleigh, thoughtful of his Virginian enterprise, had dispatched a vessel laden with stores for the colonists, but ere the ship arrived, Roanoke had been deserted. In another fortnight Greenville came with three ships and about fifty new settlers, but great was his disappointment on finding the settlement entirely unpeopled; unwilling, however, that the English should forfeit their right to the country, he left fifteen of his men to keep possession of Roanoke, and returned to England. These were dispiriting circumstances to Raleigh, but he was not dismayed by them. His opinion of the importance and value of founding a colony in the New World was decided, and he determined to use every endeavour to accomplish it. The fame of

* Lane, in Hakluyt, iii. p. 311.

the country made it easy to procure emigrants, and a new expedition was accordingly planned, to which Raleigh granted a charter of incorporation, and in the summer of 1587, it reached Roanoke. Here the new adventurers searched in vain for the men left by Greenville, but the human bones scattered around left no doubt that they had perished by the hands of the natives. The new emigrants, consisting of eighty-nine men and seventeen women, fondly anticipating that they were settling a State in the new world, began the foundation of a city, which they named Raleigh. The settlers, however, soon began to entertain gloomy apprehensions for the future, and their governor was sent to England to use his persuasion for fresh reinforcements and supplies. More than a year passed away before he returned, and then to his astonishment he found the island of Roanoke a second time deserted, and the city of Raleigh without a single European. What became of the settlers still remains a mystery, but it is conjectured that, being reduced to extreme distress, they were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians. The later physical character of the tribe, and a tradition existing among its descendants are adduced in confirmation of this supposition.

The colonization of America by the English after Raleigh's disasters lay dormant for many years, but the additional accounts which were furnished by navigators, of its fertility and beauty, gave at length a new impulse to the adventurous to seek a home in the new world. In 1606, a patent was granted to some wealthy Londoners for planting a colony in Virginia, and another to some enterprising noblemen in the west of England. The patent of the London company comprehended the présent territory of Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina; and the other, called the Plymouth adventurers, the country north of Maryland. The attempts of the Plymouth company proved a failure until the Puritans undertook it in 1620, but the London, or more properly the Virginian company, were more successful. In 1606, preparations were made by the latter on a larger scale than in any preceding effort of the English for such an object. Three ships were fitted out, and in the early part of 1607 anchored safely in Chesapeake Bay. From thence the emigrants ascended

a river, and founded a town on its banks, to which, in honour of the reigning sovereign, they gave the name of James's Town. For several years the colony proceeded but slowly, and with much difficulty, arising partly from constant collisions with the irritated natives, and partly from the class of persons who had emigrated, whom the governor described as "poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth, than either to begin or maintain one." Proceeding as many of these people did, with extravagant hopes of accumulating wealth, they paid but little attention to those pursuits which were necessary to draw subsistence even from the fertile soil of Virginia. The transportation of criminals to the settlement was another source of evil, tending to lower the moral tone of the colony, and to these unfavourable circumstances may be added the political strife by which the province was distracted in the time of Charles I. and the Commonwealth. The restoration of the monarchy was, however, the commencement of a more auspicious era for the colony, many persons preferring to leave England, and proving to be useful settlers. In 1660, being more than half a century from its foundation, it had only 10,000 inhabitants, but ten years later it could number 40,000.

In the early settlement of Virginia, it had been specially enacted, that the religion of the colony, should be according to the doctrines and rites of the Church of England. Subsequently, however, Puritans from New England, attracted by the fertility of the land, found their way to the country, and so much religious liberty was permitted, that large numbers were preparing to follow them: but English intolerance interfered; and in 1643, under the administration of Sir W. Berkley, it was enacted that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the English Church.* The passing of this measure was soon followed by the banishment of Nonconformists. Yet the settlers, though mostly Episcopalians, and favourable to the cause of the Royalists, were glad to avail themselves of the increase of political liberty, under the Protectorate; a new order

* Act 64. Henning, i. p. 277.

of things, in regard to religious freedom, followed as a consequence of this change, and, but for an act in 1658, by which Friends were banished, and their return was deemed to be felony,* religious toleration would have been nearly complete in Virginia.

The right of the Indians to their native soil was a principle never recognised by the Virginians, the claims of justice were overlooked and trampled on, and the tribes of that territory, being alarmed for the safety of their hunting grounds, conceived the horrible idea of exterminating their invaders. The plan was contrived, and kept in great secrecy, and in the Third Month, 1618, the irritated and revengeful Algonquin, fell upon the unsuspecting settlers, and in one hour, destroyed 347 of those located on the banks of James's river. Providentially, a converted Indian had revealed the plot to the inhabitants of James's Town the night before, otherwise it is probable that the whole colony would have perished. The effect of this sudden carnage was most disastrous to the rising colony. At the time of the massacre it had more than 4000 English, but within a year, they were reduced to nearly one-half that number. The feelings of alarm which prompted the settlers to abandon their new homes, on this outbreak of the angry natives, soon gave way to those of revenge, and in return, a war of extermination being commenced against the Indians, drove them into the fastnesses of the interior. But, notwithstanding this, the natives in 1644, made another sudden attack, and killed three hundred of the colonists.

Before concluding the sketch of this first permanent settlement of the English in America, we must not omit to notice the introduction of negro slavery. In 1620, a Dutch ship of war entered James's river, and offered twenty negroes for sale. The settlers unhappily bought them; and thus commenced in America an iniquitous system, the baneful effects of which on the temporal and religious interests of the colony, it is impossible to estimate. To what extent negro slavery in America has been the means of retarding the spread of vital religion in the earth,

* Norwood in Bancroft, i. p. 532.

is known only to Him who is omniscient, but we may be well assured that it has been great, and, that the responsibility of introducing and upholding such a cruel outrage on humanity, and which so violates the rights of man, must be tremendous. To Virginia then, attaches the indelible stain of being the first to promote on the North American continent, the sin of negro slavery. In tracing the future history of the American colonies, it is not difficult to perceive that the rod of divine displeasure has signally rested on this guilty state, furnishing to mankind another teaching lesson, that the surest guarantee for the ultimate success and prosperity of a people, is an uncompromising adherence to the law of universal righteousness.

For more than a century after the discovery of the Western World, the English had landed on its shores, comparatively speaking, but a mere handful of people. After repeated failures, the colonization of Virginia, under the management of the London company, led to great expectations ; but it was reserved for the Puritans to give the greatest impulse to the tide of emigration to the new country.

The Reformation in England had never been accompanied by a full toleration of individual sentiment in matters of religion, and hence may be dated the establishment of the colonies in NEW ENGLAND. The Nonconformist emigrants to that region, were individuals, who contended for a more thorough reformation in religion, than that recognized by Queen Elizabeth. They were dissatisfied with the pompous display of the Anglican Church, and regarded it as a remnant of the Romish apostacy. The use of organs and other instruments of music in the time of public worship, the prohibition of extemporaneous prayer, the bowing at the name of Jesus, the use of the surplice and other priestly vestments, together with the liturgy and the various distinctions of rank among the ministers of religion, were among the leading grounds of dissent held by this class of English Reformers. The Protestants of England thus became divided into two parties, the one pleading for greater purity and simplicity in the church, and the other for entire conformity to the reformed religion as recognized by law. The latter being the more powerful of the two,

soon had recourse to the civil power in the enforcement of their views. In 1554 an "Act of Conformity" was passed, and at the instigation of Elizabeth in 1593, another act of greater severity followed, including provisions for penalties and imprisonments, and even for capital punishment, against those who refused to conform to the usages of the church established by law.

The enactments for enforcing conformity to the Anglican church, drove the Puritan party to speak openly of secession, and at last in 1572, they formed a separate congregation. The laws against nonconformists were now cruelly enforced, numbers were banished the country, and two were even hanged at Tyburn. The persecuted Puritans finding that Holland afforded them a refuge, fled thither, and a congregation of them was formed at Amsterdam; but the intermarriages of their members with Dutch families decreased their numbers, and this, with some other considerations, led most of the younger part of their church to resolve on a removal to America. An application for a grant of land was accordingly obtained, and was sanctioned by King James; but he refused to enter into any stipulation for the free exercise of their religion; saying, that "if they demeaned themselves quietly, no inquiry would be made." In the summer of 1620, one hundred persons, having about £2,400 in goods and provisions, embarked as exiles, seeking a new home on the western shores of the Atlantic. After a voyage of two months, they arrived in the harbour of Cape Cod, in sight of the most barren part of Massachusetts. The country on which they landed, had, a few years before, been rendered a lonely desert by a pestilence which had swept over it. Wigwams were found, but their tenants had disappeared; the rising smoke in the distance, however, indicated that the Indian was not far off,—a fact which was soon confirmed by the sound of the war-whoop, for the natives knew the European only as the kidnapper of their race. After exploring the country, the emigrants chose a spot, as the most inviting on which to form a settlement, and to this they gave the name of Plymouth. The winter was passed in endurance of extreme privation, and ere another summer's sun had beamed upon the little company, one-half of their number had closed their earthly career. In imitation of the primitive Chris-

tians, these Pilgrim Fathers adopted a community of goods as the basis of their system ; but they found to their cost that it was one ill adapted to their state. Labour was given with so sluggish a disposition, that in some instances whipping was resorted to, as a necessary coercive. In the following year the colony was reinforced by an arrival of new emigrants. For at least three years after the landing of the Puritans in New England, they had to submit to great hardships, which they bore with much cheerfulness ; and the settlement increased. In ten years it was flourishing, and numbered three hundred inhabitants.

The determination of the leaders of the English Episcopal church, to persist in enforcing the laws made against dissent, and the unceasing efforts of Laud for the introduction of a more pompous ritual, accompanied with an inquisitorial system of great severity against nonconformists, increased the desires of the persecuted Puritans for emigration to America. The reluctance which many of them felt to exchange the land of their nativity for the wilds of the new world was overcome by the persecution to which they were subjected, and an association for promoting emigration to New England, was formed on a large scale. Men of rank and influence, and ejected Puritan ministers of high standing, encouraged the scheme, and a grant of land from the government was applied for. The Court was not opposed to the design, and a patent was obtained, for "the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay." Preparations for embarkation having been made, the emigrants, amounting to above two hundred, set sail in six vessels. In the Sixth Month, 1629, they reached the coast of Massachusetts, and landed on a spot which they named Salem. Some needy settlers, amounting to about one hundred, had already located themselves at this place, and altogether the infant colony numbered three hundred souls.

The early settlers at Salem, like those of the Plymouth colony, suffered great distresses, and before the following spring, more than eighty of their number had died. But the accounts transmitted to England gave a cheering description of the new country, and the feeling in favour of emigration became more intense among the nonconformists. In the following year preparations

were made on a still larger scale, and no less than fifteen hundred persons landed on the shores of Massachusetts, including many both of wealth and education. The desire for this foreign land continued to gather strength, and year after year, masses of English dissenters of the most respectable class, proceeded to New England. Neale does not doubt that in a few years one fourth of the property of the kingdom would have been taken to America, had no resistance been offered. But the government became alarmed, and a proclamation was issued "to restrain the disorderly transporting of his Majesty's subjects, because of the many idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live beyond the reach of authority." On the day following an order appeared to "stay eight ships now in the river of Thames prepared to go for New England;" and the passengers, among whom was Oliver Cromwell,* were obliged to disembark.* Although a considerable check was thus given to emigration by the interference of the civil power, yet large numbers continued to find their way to Massachusetts. It is calculated that, during twelve years, the emigrants amounted to no less than twenty-one thousand.

Escaped from a harassing and unjust persecution in their native land, it might have been expected that the settlers in New England would recognize religious liberty as the basis of their system. But no such idea, it appears, was ever entertained by them. The express object of the Puritans in seeking to found a colony in America, was, that they might enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The charter, however, is entirely silent on the subject. The king regarded the emigrants as a trading company, and they were forbidden to make any law or ordinance repugnant to the statutes of the realm. The fair construction of the charter is, that entire dissent from the English church was not intended to be allowed, nor does it appear that the English government, in granting it, ever anticipated that the Puritans would insist on a separation of church and state, or that their own religion, both in doctrine and discipline, was to be the only one tolerated in Massachusetts. These stern and unbending reformers, however,

* Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book I. p. 23.—Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. p. 476.

is doubtless and has been long proved
to be

were resolved that neither the Romish apostacy, nor "the corruptions of the English church," should find sufferance within the limits of their jurisdiction. "The common prayer worship," and prelacy, they deemed to be incompatible with that religious liberty, for the enjoyment of which, though in a western wilderness, they had left the homes of their ancestors, and they boldly determined to resist their introduction among the settlers. "Their imposition," they declared, "would be a sinful violation of the worship of God." Religious union they believed to be their stronghold against attacks of the hierarchy in England, and "the order of the churches" was to be maintained at all hazards; "The brethren" only, were to be the people of their country, and all dissent from their own belief and form of worship, was to be visited by the strong arm of magisterial authority; both minister and ruler regarding every innovation of their principles as dangerous to the community. Dudley, one of the most respectable governors of the province, was found at his death with a copy of verses in his pocket, in which these lines occur:

"Let men of God, in court and churches, watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch."

The pure doctrines of Christianity the Puritans fondly conceived, were, by their instrumentality, to be reduced to practice, and the civilized world was to have in Puritan New England, an example of a church, free from all those pollutions which had gradually crept into Christendom. That this formed the primary object, and was the conscientious aim of the Pilgrim Fathers in emigrating to New England, is not to be doubted.

The character of these emigrants was undoubtedly much above the average of the British population, for sobriety, industrial habits, and general integrity of conduct. "God sifted three kingdoms," said one of their early governors, "that he might bring choice grain into this wilderness." Notwithstanding their bigoted attachment to their own doctrines, and the errors which they committed on the subject of religious toleration, there is ample evidence that the early Puritans of New England were mostly a conscientious and pious people, but distinguished by

some striking peculiarities. The practice of substituting Hebrew names, spiritual terms, and even passages of scripture, for English proper names, was one of them ;* and from this fact may be traced the prevalence of Old Testament names in New England at the present day.

The system which the Puritans intended to pursue in America, with respect to religion, was unexpected to the English nation ; and had it been fully known, none, certainly, but those of their own profession would have joined in the emigration. It happened, however, that of the party who went out in 1629, two who had been appointed members of the colonial council by the Company, were Episcopalians, and these, refusing to unite with the Fathers in their mode of worship, collected a company of the settlers at Salem, who were desirous of upholding the forms and ceremonies of the English church. This circumstance took the Puritans by surprise, but being settled in their conclusions, they determined to meet the supposed evil with a high hand. The two Episcopalian legislators, after being accused as spies in the camp, and forbidden to exercise their religion in Massachusetts, were arrested, and on the return of the vessels, sent back to England. This was the first act of Puritan intolerance in New England ; and had it been the only one, the Christian church would have been spared some of its dark excesses.

The exclusive system of the Puritans in America, upheld as it was with the utmost severity, had its opponents. There were among those strict professors, enlightened men, who saw that it

* In *Broome's Travels in England*, p. 279, it is stated, that in the county of Sussex, a jury was empanelled whose names were

Accepted, Trevor	Return, Spelman
Redeemed, Compton	Be Faithful, Joiner
Faint Not, Hewit	Fly Debate, Roberts
Make Peace, Heaton	Fight the good Fight of Faith, White
God Reward, Smart	More Fruit, Fowler
Standfast on High, Stringer	Hope for, Bending
Earth, Adams	Graceful, Herding
Called, Lower	Weep Not, Billing
Kill Sin, Pimple	Meek, Brewer

was repugnant to the spirit of true religion. Roger Williams of Salem, "a young minister godly and zealous," was one of this class, and one who did not hesitate boldly to declare, that "the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience, is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Christ." The presence of every man at public worship in New England was insisted upon, but this, Roger Williams contended, was an invasion of the natural rights of the subject. Doctrines thus openly professed and promulgated, were viewed as treason by the ministers of Massachusetts, and at length, in 1635, the magistrates resolved to banish Williams, as a disturber of the order of church and state. Exiled from his friends, Roger Williams sought shelter among the Indians of Narragansett Bay. They received him gladly. "The ravens," he remarked, "fed me in the wilderness." He determined upon founding a new colony, and acknowledging the rights of the native inhabitant to the soil; he purchased a territory, and established a new colony. Roger Williams thus became the founder of an American plantation, and pursuing an enlightened and Christian course, he founded it on the principles of absolute religious freedom. A spot having been selected for a settlement, he began to build, and in commemoration of the mercies of the Most High, he called it Providence, desiring that it might be "a shelter for persons of distressed conscience."* The liberal policy of the founder of this settlement was duly appreciated, and he soon had the satisfaction of welcoming to the wilds of Narragansett, "godly people from England, who apprehended a special hand of Providence in raising this plantation, and whose hearts were stirred to come over." Its English population consequently increased rapidly.

Scarcely had the first dwellings in Providence been tenanted by the exiles from Massachusetts, ere that intolerant colony was subjected to a new schism. A Calvinistic sect, entertaining the notion that the Puritans of New England placed a dangerous reliance on the strictness and severity of their lives for salvation, and that the doctrine of justification by faith alone, constituted the true ground of the Christian's hope, gave rise to this division.

* Backus, i. p. 94, in Bancroft.

Anne Hutchinson, a woman of great eloquence and ability was the leader of these Antinomians, and Harry Vane, then governor of the province, and who afterwards became so conspicuous in England, identified himself with their cause. A furious controversy between the ministers and the Hutchinsonians took place. The former convened a synod, which, after declaring the orthodoxy of the New England church, proceeded to denounce Anne Hutchinson and her party, "as unfit for society," and to exile them from the province. The larger portion of the new sect, headed by William Coddington, in 1637 proceeded southward, and with the assistance of Roger Williams, succeeded in purchasing of the Narragansett Indians the picturesque little territory of Rhode Island. Another colony was thus founded, and Coddington was chosen as its governor. The broad principle of liberty of conscience was fully recognized in its constitution; it being agreed "that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine."

The colonies of Providence and Rhode Island had not been secured a political existence by a charter from the mother country, and consequently were excluded from the colonial union of New England. The settlers, feeling that their existence as a separate province, depended on the protection of a charter, appointed Roger Williams in 1643, to proceed to England for the purpose of obtaining one. Sir Harry Vane, then an influential member of the Parliament, favoured the application, and through his exertions, a charter was obtained, incorporating the two colonies under the title of "RHODE ISLAND." The inhabitants of the new province now happily experienced the blessings of liberty of conscience. "We have not felt," they said in 1654, in an address to their patron Sir H. Vane, "the iron yoke of wolvisish bishops, or the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor, in this colony, have we been consumed by the over-zealous fire of the (so called) godly Christian magistrate. We have not known what an excise means—we have almost forgotten what tithes are." Such was the happy experience of the early inhabitants of Rhode Island.

Returning again to the colonies of Massachusetts, we find, that in a few years after the Antinomians had been cast out,

Anabaptism sprang up, and disturbed the intolerant Puritan. The denying of infant baptism, and the holding of separate meetings, was called, "setting up an altar of their own against God's altar." "God forbid," said Dudley in his old age, "that we should tolerate errors." "To say that men ought to have liberty of conscience, is impious ignorance," said another." "Religion," responded the notorious priest, Norton, "admits of no eccentric notions." The conscientious Anabaptist shared no quarter, and fines, whippings, and finally, banishments, cleared Massachusetts of its Baptist population. How then can we wonder that in Puritanic New England, Quakerism should draw down a severer persecution?

The territory of NEW HAMPSHIRE was formed into a colony in 1622; its progress, however, was slow. The inhabitants were chiefly Puritans from Massachusetts, which claimed the right of jurisdiction over the district; and in 1642, it was annexed to that colony; but in 1679 it received a distinct charter, and became another province.

The valley of the Connecticut, by its alluvial fertility, early attracted settlers from Massachusetts. In 1635, a company of sixty of the Pilgrims emigrated in a body through the forests to this country, and in the following year, when still larger numbers found their way to it, the government of CONNECTICUT was established under the auspices of Winthrop. The fur trade, also, attracted many to settle on the banks of its noble river; these were chiefly Dutch from New Amsterdam. In 1662, the colony obtained a charter from Charles II. Soon after emigration to Connecticut had begun, a colony sprung up at New Haven, under Puritan auspices; it never, however, obtained a charter, but became incorporated with the former under one government.

The country comprehending the province of New York, appears to have been first visited by Henry Hudson in 1609, whilst in the employ of the Dutch. This enterprise led the Dutch nation to claim the country contiguous to the river which bears the name of this navigator; and, in the following year, some Amsterdam merchants traded with the Indians on the shores of Long Island Sound; and a few years later, some Dutch fur

traders took up their abode on the island of Manhattan. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company obtained a charter to plant colonies in America, and four years later, several dwellings of persons who came to prosecute the fur trade, were erected on the site of the present city of New York. Subsequently, all the country extending from Maryland to New England, was claimed by the Dutch. In colonizing this country, then called New Netherlands, the Dutch West India Company recognized religious toleration. "Let every peaceful citizen," wrote the directors from Amsterdam, "enjoy freedom of conscience; this maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps and you shall be blessed."* The liberty thus allowed, attracted persons from different parts of Europe, and the Dutch colony soon became a home, not only for English, French, and Belgians, but also for Germans, Bohemians, Swiss, and Italians. The French protestants came in such numbers, that official documents were sometimes issued in their language, as well as in Dutch and English.† The enlightened legislation of New Netherlands, forms a bright spot in the colonization of America, and, but for the conduct of the Calvinistic Stuyvesant, its governor, in persecuting some Lutherans and Friends, religious toleration would have been complete within its limits. The duration of Dutch power in America, was, however, but short. In a war with the English in 1664, it was lost, and a dismemberment of New Netherlands followed the conquest. New York fell into the hands of James, the brother of Charles II., and the country east of the Delaware, was assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both proprietors in Carolina; and which now received the name of NEW JERSEY.

The colonization of DELAWARE begun in 1631, when about thirty Dutch people formed a settlement near Lewistown, and it became a separate colony. Before Europeans had planted themselves on the soil of Delaware, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, had planned an enterprise for settling a colony of his people in the new world, and at his instance, a company was incor-

* Albany Records.

† Ibid.

porated for the purpose. It was not, however, until 1638, that the Scandinavians found their way to the territory of Delaware. Their numbers, though small at first, gradually increased; and in 1654, they amounted to about seven hundred settlers. At this date they were conquered by the Dutch, and the colony came under the control of that people. The Swedish emigrants were protestants of considerable piety: they took much pains to educate their children, and lived on terms of peace with the aborigines. The country attracted a few English from New England, for the enlightened Gustavus desired that it should be open to "all oppressed Christendom."

The favourable accounts which the early settlers in Virginia gave of the fertility and resources of the western continent, increased the enthusiasm of the English for American plantations; and Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, a member of the Virginian company, and a man of ability and enterprise, shared largely in the feeling. He became a convert to Papacy, and, avowing his opinions, resigned his office of Secretary of State. Baltimore, on embracing the Romish faith, entertained the idea of emigrating to America, but the laws of Virginia excluded Papists from its territory. The country lying northward of the Potomac, being, however, yet untenanted by the English, in 1632 he applied for and obtained from Charles I. a grant of land, which he called MARYLAND, in honour of Henrietta Maria, the consort of the King. In framing the laws of the province, Lord Baltimore determined that no preference should be given to any sect. It became an asylum for Papists, but equality in religious rights, and civil freedom, were assured to all. Religious liberty was the basis adopted by the governor of Maryland. "I will not," said he in his oath, "by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." The liberal institutions of the new colony, together with the fertility of the soil, attracted many adventurers; the lonely forests were soon converted into prosperous plantations, and both Protestants from Europe, and Puritans from New England, flocked in considerable numbers to the province. The troubles in the mother country between Charles I.

and the Parliament, were watched with much interest by the Papists of Maryland ; and, fearing lest the ascendancy of the latter, might endanger the religious privileges of the colony, they concluded in 1649, to pass an act, to protect freedom of conscience in matters of religion. Unhappily for Maryland, a dispute arose between Lord Baltimore and Clayborne, a resolute and enterprising man, who claimed a right to the province, on the plea of a grant from the Virginian company in 1631, and in which he was supported by many of the colonists. The conflicting claims of the two parties greatly divided the population, and sectarianism had no small influence in the controversy. The Puritans, who had been welcomed by the governor, and to whose liberal policy they were indebted for a home in the colony, threw their influence into the scale of the Clayborne party, and made it preponderate. The change which took place in the government of Maryland was followed by religious intolerance, and in a new assembly held in 1654, the Puritans, under the auspices of Clayborne, supported the passing of an act, which refused religious liberty to those who professed "popery or prelacy;" but the ungrateful enactment was never countenanced by Cromwell. Lord Baltimore, when he heard of these proceedings, became indignant, and resolved to vindicate his supremacy. The Puritans and Claybornites, however, took to arms, and repelling the forces of the governor, maintained their power until the restoration of the monarchy ; when the authority of Baltimore was again recognized. The prosperity of Maryland was progressive ; it had become famed as an asylum for the persecuted of every class and country, and emigrants from France, from Germany, from Holland, from Sweden, from Piedmont, and from Bohemia, sought its unsectarian soil. In that province, remarks a modern historian,* "the empire of justice and humanity had been complete, but for the sufferings of the people called Quakers."

Except the disastrous attempt on the Roanoke in 1587, under the auspices of the disappointed Raleigh, and the settlement in 1650 of some Virginian planters, and also a few years after them, of some New England men in the vicinity of Cape Fear, no

* Bancroft's United States.

attempts at colonization in CAROLINA appear to have been made by the English, until the year 1667.

But although the tide of emigration had been checked in this direction, by the failure of the early expeditions, the fertility of the southern lands of North America was still remembered ; and Carolina was constituted a province by a grant of Charles II. to some of his most influential courtiers. The great philosopher John Locke, who was intimately acquainted with the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the proprietaries, undertook, at his solicitation, to frame a constitution for the new colony.

In laying down the form of its government, Locke evidently desired that aristocratic influence should be maintained in its councils, but he nevertheless supported religious toleration. An express clause in the charter opened the way for its recognition ; and religious freedom to " Jews, heathens, and other dissenters," to " men of any religion," was allowed to settlers in Carolina. The unsectarian constitution of the province was appreciated, and together with the fertility of the country, it attracted, not only English and Irish, but Dutch from New York and Holland ; persecuted Huguenots from France, and exiled Covenanters from Scotland.

The recognition of negro slavery in Locke's " constitutions" for the southern settlement, was, however, a deep blot upon his system, and promising and fruitful as the country appeared to be, the colony advanced slowly, and with difficulty. In North Carolina the settlers soon became uneasy under the political restraints of the government, and in 1680, the " constitutions" were abandoned, as inapplicable to men who sought a more popular government.

The colonists of South Carolina began also to feel that their rights were restricted by the legislation of Locke, and the proprietors seeing the futility of attempting to enforce it, entirely laid aside the scheme of the great philosopher. This was in the year 1693, the year preceding the election by the proprietors, of John Archdale, a Friend of Chipping Wycombe in Buckinghamshire, as governor of South Carolina. Under the management of " the peaceful Archdale," as he is termed, " the mediator between

factions," the province began to thrive, and the fame of Carolina, as "the American Canaan that flowed with milk and honey," increased. The colony, says its enlightened Quaker governor, "stood circumstanced with the honour of a true English government, zealous for the increase of virtue, as well as outward trade and business." The representatives of the freemen of the settlement, sensible of the cause of this happy change, declared that John Archdale "by his wisdom, and labour, had laid a firm foundation for a most glorious superstructure,"* and voted him an address of thanks.

Having now included in our introductory pages, a condensed narrative of the discovery of the North American continent, and of the settlement of its several European colonies, down to nearly the end of the seventeenth century, it may not be amiss, before retiring from the subject, briefly to recapitulate the leading points of the history. We have seen that the attempts of the PORTUGUESE and of the SPANISH nations for territorial acquisitions in this portion of the western world, were failures; that the FRENCH, more successful in their endeavours, had formed settlements of considerable extent in the region now known as Canada; that the enterprising DUTCH had planted themselves in considerable numbers on the banks of the Hudson, and that protestant SWEDES, encouraged by Gustavus, their king, occupied both the right and left banks of the Delaware; but, we have also seen that to the enterprising exertions of the ENGLISH nation, the colonisation of this vast country is mainly attributable.

One of the chief objects in penning this introductory relation is to exhibit the moral and religious character of the several provinces at the time referred to, and also the degree of religious toleration which they individually recognised. VIRGINIA the earliest permanent settlement of the English, founded in 1607, was colonised by a class of men mostly of the high Anglican church, who proceeded to the new country with extravagant hopes of wealth. For the first half century they refused to allow the exercise of any religion other than Episcopacy; but, from the

* Assembly's Address in Archdale's Carolina, p. 18.

time of the Commonwealth, their views regarding religious toleration were modified, and excepting the law of 1658, for banishing Friends, which was enforced, in a few cases only, religious freedom prevailed in the colony. Next in succession followed the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers in MASSACHUSETTS. Professing to be the uncompromising opponents to Romish declension, and as such, to the pompous display and prelacy of the Anglican Church, they refused the introduction of Papacy and Episcopacy into their jurisdiction, and also every kind of religion, excepting Puritanism ; and in their zeal to uphold these views, they were led into great excesses of persecution. These remarks respecting the Puritans in Massachusetts will apply to those of CONNECTICUT, where the exclusive principle was also upheld and enforced. The colony of MARYLAND, the very antipodes of Puritanic New England as respects religious liberty, was commenced in 1633, under the auspices of Lord Baltimore, a leading papist ; but, contrary to the practices of his own church, and to both Episcopal Virginia and the Pilgrim Fathers, he allowed complete liberty of conscience. The result of his liberal policy was the influx of settlers of all shades of religious opinions. The intolerance of the Pilgrims of Massachusetts gave rise, in 1636, to the settlement on RHODE ISLAND. The occupiers of this delightful locality were men of enlightened minds. They had been persecuted and banished for their religion, and evinced their condemnation of these unchristian practices, by granting in their own jurisdiction entire religious freedom. Thirty years later, the same principle was still further extended in the new world, in the settlement of the CAROLINAS. The crowning example of religious freedom, and of enlightened Christian legislation in America, and indeed in the world at large, was, however, in the settlement of Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, under the directing hand of William Penn. This interesting subject will be more appropriately treated upon in the future pages of this work, as it occurs in the order of time.

We see then, that, excepting Massachusetts and Connecticut, North America offered an asylum for the persecuted of every class, and for the people of every clime ; we cannot therefore wonder that its unsectarian soil became the resort, not only of English, and

Irish, and Scotch, but also of emigrants from almost every nation in Europe.

In studying the history of the Society of Friends, the observant reader, cannot, we think, fail to notice, that it was only in countries where the darkness of popery had been much dispelled, that its spiritual and enlightened views found steady acceptance. Although our early Friends were engaged in gospel labours in several of the Roman Catholic countries of Europe, we do not find that they were successful in the establishment of a single meeting, or except in a few cases, in obtaining an individual conversion to their principles; whilst on the other hand, in almost every Protestant nation in which they preached, communities were gathered, who professed and promulgated their doctrines. The Reformation, therefore, was instrumental in preparing the way for the introduction of Quakerism into Christendom. But enfranchised, as most of the settlers of the western world were, from the shackles of popery, and to a large extent from prelacy also; and consisting, as they did of considerable numbers of pious individuals, who had been driven from their respective countries for the cause of religion, the colonies of America presented a sphere peculiarly adapted for the reception of those high and enlightened views of christianity, which the Society of Friends were called to uphold, and to advocate among their fellow-men. Of the labours of their gospel messengers, and of the manner in which their principles were received in the new world, it will be the object of our future pages to treat.

CHAPTER II.

The rise of the Society of Friends—George Fox's brief narrative respecting it—Mary Fisher and Anne Austin visit Barbadoes and New England—Fac-simile of a letter from Mary Fisher to George Fox—[The prejudice of the Puritans against Friends]—Mary Fisher and Anne Austin reach Boston—Their trunks are searched for Quaker books—A special council of the magistrates of Boston convened—They issue an order for the imprisonment and banishment of the two Friends—Their books are burnt—They are searched as witches—Are banished, and sent to Barbadoes—Letter of Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, from Barbadoes—Sketch of the life of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin.

THE rise of the religious Society of Friends appears from the most authentic data to have taken place in 1644; the year in which some piously-disposed persons, residing in Leicestershire, one of the midland counties of England, first associated themselves in religious profession with George Fox. For about seven years from this period, the Society had not extended much beyond a few of the neighbouring counties, including Yorkshire. In a brief account given by George Fox of "the spreading of truth," he thus notices the early progress of the Society. "The truth sprang up first to us, so as to be a people to the Lord, in Leicestershire in 1644, in Warwickshire in 1645, in Nottinghamshire in 1646, in Derbyshire in 1647, and in the adjacent counties in 1648, 1649, and 1650; in Yorkshire in 1651."* The year 1652 was marked by a very considerable enlargement of the Society, and many individuals, who became eminent instruments in the hand of the Lord for the promotion of his holy cause, united with the new association. At this date it numbered

* Journal of George Fox, Leeds Ed., vol. ii. p. 465.

twenty-five ministers, by whom, remarks George Fox, "multitudes were convinced." The ministry of these gospel labourers, during this and the subsequent year, was principally confined to the northern and midland portions of the kingdom ; but in 1654, we find Quaker ministers travelling in nearly all the counties of England and Wales, and in parts of Scotland and Ireland, whilst the establishment of meetings had taken place in most parts of the nation. There were now no fewer than sixty engaged in the work of the ministry, and their labours were followed with signal success ; a convincing power attended them in these engagements, which impressed awful considerations, and awakened the slumbering consciences of their audiences to an earnest desire for the salvation of their souls. "Their preaching," says an historian, "was in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power ; multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrines."*

Deeply sensible, as were the early Friends, of the spirituality and importance of the views which they had embraced, and of their entire accordance with the doctrines and precepts of Christ, they longed for their universal reception ; and, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, their hearts were warmed in gospel love to their fellow-men every where. Having themselves felt the efficacy of the free teaching of Christ, they were drawn to invite others to the same blessed experience, and "come, taste and see that the Lord is good," was the emphatic language of their souls. Enlightened by the Sun of Righteousness, they were given to see, that great darkness and deadness in religion had overspread professing Christendom. They deeply lamented the departure from the primitive purity and simplicity of the true church, which so generally prevailed, and under an apprehension of a call from on high, many, at a very early period of the Society's progress, travelled in distant lands to preach the glad tidings of peace and salvation, through Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Under these impressions, we find that in 1655, some had passed over to the European continent, while Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, feeling

* Gough's History of Friends, vol. i. p. 143.

My dear father

- Let me not be forgotten of the but let the promise be for me that
I may continue faithful to the end if any of our friends be free to com mit
they may be servised here is many convinced & many desire to know
the way so I rest

from the Barbados the 30 day
of the month called January

Mary Fisher

for George Fox

this deliver

their minds drawn to visit the western world, proceeded to the island of Barbadoes; and from thence in the spring of 1656, to New England. "In 1655," says George Fox, "many went beyond sea, where truth also sprang up; and in 1656, it broke forth in America."*

Soon after the arrival of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin at Barbadoes, the former addressed a letter to George Fox. The original is still in existence, and we insert the following extract from it, as of historical interest at this early date:—

MARY FISHER TO GEORGE FOX.

MY DEAR FATHER,

— Let me not be forgotten of thee, but let thy prayers be for me that I may continue faithful to the end. If any of our Friends be free to come over, they may be serviceable; here are many convinced, and many desire to know the way, so I rest.

*From the Barbadoes the 30th day of the
month called January, [Eleventh
Month, O. S.] 1655.*

Mary Fisher

It has been observed, in the preceding chapter, that there existed in some parts of New England, more especially in the state of Massachusetts, a spirit of great intolerance and persecution. Confident in the notion of their own righteousness and in that profession of religion which subjected their ancestors to so much cruelty in the mother country, and which ultimately drove the Pilgrim Fathers to seek a refuge in the American wilderness, the Puritans of New England unhappily cherished a disposition inimical to religious freedom. They contended for the right of judging in spiritual things, and bore their testimony against prelacy and whatever else they deemed to be error, but all dissent from their own doctrines they held to be heresy. Very early after the rise of Friends in Great Britain, many of them had to undergo much suffering and oppression from both priests and

* Journal of George Fox, Leeds Ed., vol. ii. p. 465.

rulers. Episcopacy was at that time no longer the acknowledged religion of the state. The pulpits were occupied both by Presbyterians and Independents. Between the civil and ecclesiastical powers at home therefore, and those of New England, there was at this period, a great identity of feeling, and that desire for the establishment of uniformity in religion, which prompted the Presbyterians to endeavour to set up a consistory in every parish throughout England,* found its ample response in the bosoms of the bigoted rulers of Massachusetts.

Striking, as the principles of the Society of Friends do, at the very foundation of hierarchial systems, and all distinctions between laity and clergy, they met with vehement opposition from almost every class of religious professors, and both Royalist and Parliamentary joined in common cause to oppress them. Their enemies, not content with persecuting this despised people for sentiments which they really held and preached, endeavoured, by an enormous amount of misrepresentation, to raise a prejudice against them in the minds of those who had not an opportunity of judging for themselves. The distorted accounts† which were industriously circulated respecting them, had, at a very early period of their history, reached the remotest settlements of the British empire; and, as it regards the American colonists, had produced among them not only a settled prejudice against Friends, but also a deep-rooted repugnance to the spiritual views which they advocated. The manner in which this feeling was manifested in Puritan New England, will be shewn in the subsequent pages.

It was in the early part of the Fifth Month, 1656, that Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived at Boston, and their approach appears to have caused no inconsiderable degree of consternation to the authorities of Massachusetts Bay. The news of the arrival of the two strangers had no sooner reached the ears of Bellingham, the deputy governor, the governor himself being absent, than, in his zeal to avert the dreaded introduction of

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 24, Ed. 1795.

† See "Heretical Quakers deluded by the Devil," in "A Mirror or Looking Glass," by Samuel Clark; Edition of 1656.

heretical doctrines into the colony, he forthwith ordered that the two Friends should be detained on board the ship in which they came, and that their trunks should be searched for any printed works which they might have brought. These orders were strictly carried out; they were kept closely confined in the vessel, and about one hundred books were taken from them, and committed to the custody of the officers. On this "extraordinary occasion," as the historian Neal terms it,* the magistrates of Boston took the alarm; and, as if the town were threatened with some imminent danger, by the arrival of two quiet and harmless English women, a special council was convened, whose deliberations terminated in the issue of the following order:—

"At a council held at Boston, 11th July, 1656,—

*"Whereas, there are several laws long since made and published in this jurisdiction, bearing testimony against heretics and erroneous persons; yet, notwithstanding, Simon Kempthorn of Charlestown, master of the ship *Swallow* of Boston, hath brought into this jurisdiction, from the island of Barbadoes, two women, who name themselves Anne, the wife of one Austin, and Mary Fisher, being of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Quakers, who, upon examination are found not only to be transgressors of the former laws, but to hold very dangerous, heretical, and blasphemous opinions; and they do also acknowledge that they came here purposely to propagate their said errors and heresies, bringing with them and spreading here sundry books, wherein are contained most corrupt, heretical, and blasphemous doctrines, contrary to the truth of the gospel here professed amongst us. The council therefore, tendering the preservation of the peace and truth, enjoyed and professed among the churches of Christ in this country, do hereby order:*

"First. That all such corrupt books as shall be found upon search to be brought in and spread by the aforesaid persons, be forthwith burned and destroyed by the common executioner.

"Secondly. That the said Anne and Mary be kept in close

* Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 292.

prison, and none admitted communication with them without leave from the governor, deputy governor, or two magistrates, to prevent the spreading their corrupt opinions, until such time as they be delivered aboard of some vessel, to be transported out of the country.

“ Thirdly. The said Simon Kempthorn is hereby enjoined, speedily and directly, to transport or cause to be transported, the said persons from hence to Barbadoes, from whence they came, he defraying all the charges of their imprisonment ; and for the effectual performance hereof, he is to give security in a bond of £100. sterling, and on his refusal to give such security, he is to be committed to prison till he do it.”

In the extraordinary proceedings of the council of Boston in passing this order, we see the first deliberate act of the rulers of New England in their corporate capacity, towards Friends. The instructions thus issued were not only rigorously, but even barbarously enforced. Mary Fisher and Anne Austin were brought on shore and confined in the dismal gaol of Boston, whilst their books were committed to the flames by the hands of the executioner. “ Oh, learned and malicious cruelty ! ” remarks one who was soon after a prisoner in Boston for his Quaker’s principles,* “ as if another man had not been sufficient to burn a few harmless books, which, like their masters, can neither fight, strike, nor quarrel.” The authorities, in their determination to prevent the “ heretical doctrines ” from spreading among the settlers, threatened to inflict a penalty of £5. on any one who should even attempt to converse with the Friends through the window of their prison ; subsequently they had it boarded up as an additional security, and not deeming these precautionary measures sufficient, they next deprived the prisoners of their writing materials.

The order of the council was severe, but the revolting treatment to which these harmless women were afterwards exposed, was a still greater outrage upon humanity. For some years pre-

* Humphrey Norton.

ceding, a delusion of a most extraordinary and alarming character, in reference to the subject of witches, had unhappily taken hold on the minds of the colonists of New England, and several persons had already been put to death under the charge of witchcraft. Two had been executed at Boston, one in 1648, and another, Bellingham's own sister-in-law, but a few months before the arrival of the two strangers. Whether the persecutors of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, were really designing the death of the victims of their bigotry, and in effecting it were endeavouring to avoid offering violence to the feelings of the community, we know not, but the cry of witchcraft was now raised against them. They were accordingly subjected to a close examination, but no overt act in substantiation of the malignant charge, could be adduced. The authorities, thus foiled in their wicked purpose, next subjected them to an indecent and cruel examination of their persons, to see if some marks of witchcraft were not upon them, under the popular superstitious notion, that some distinctive sign would be found on the bodies of those who had thus sold themselves to Satan. It would have been a fearful thing had any mark or mole of a peculiar kind been apparent, but nothing of the sort was to be found, and they thus escaped an ignominious death.

The magistrates, baffled in their wicked design, now refused to furnish their prisoners with provisions, or even to allow the citizens of Boston to do so; but He who fed Elijah in the wilderness, and who careth for His saints under every variety of circumstance, was near to help. An aged inhabitant of the city, touched with compassion for their sufferings, bribed the gaoler, by giving him five shillings a week, to allow him privately to administer to their wants.

After an imprisonment of nearly five weeks, and the loss of their beds and their bible, which the gaoler took for his fees, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, were sent on board the vessel in which they came, and which was now about to sail to Barbadoes, the captain being bound, under a penalty of one hundred pounds, to carry them to that island, and to prevent their either landing in New England, or in any way communicating with its people.

The date of their banishment from Boston, was the 5th of the Sixth Month, 1656. Kempthorn, the captain, submitted to the arbitrary requisition of the council; and, it is supposed, paid for the returning passage of the two Friends to Barbadoes. Whilst these proceedings were going forward, Endicot, the governor, was in another part of the colony; and to his absence from Boston may be attributed the escape of Mary Fisher, and her companion, from a cruelty of another kind. "If I had been present," said this persecuting Puritan, on hearing the course adopted towards them, "I would have had them well whipped." This was that Endicot who afterwards made himself so conspicuous in the New England persecutions. The following unpublished letter in the Swarthmore collection of manuscripts, written by Henry Fell, who visited Barbadoes about this time, contains an account of the arrival of the banished Friends at that island, and will probably be read with interest.

HENRY FELL TO MARGARET FELL.

Barbadoes, the 3rd day of ye Ninth Month, (56).

MY DEARLY BELOVED,

In the Lord Jesus Christ, my dear love salutes thee.—

I landed here upon the Barbadoes the 7th day of the Eighth Month, in the afternoon, and that night went to a Friend's house in the country, six miles off, (a widow woman), where I was gladly received. She told me that Peter Head, John Rous, and Mary Fisher, were gone from the island the day before, (for any thing she knew); but it proved otherwise, for the next morning I went to Indian-Bridge, where they were to have taken shipping for the Leeward Islands, namely Nevis and Antego, about eighty or ninety leagues from their place; but I found them not gone, for the shipping that should have carried them had deceived them. And truly I was much refreshed and strengthened by finding of them there. They continued here about fourteen days after I came hither, before they got shipping from hence, in which time we had several meetings amongst Friends, and so they passed away. I know nothing of their return hither

again, for they could say little of it, or which way they should be disposed of. Mary Fisher, (and one Anne Austin, who is lately come from England,) had been here before, and went from hence to New England, where they were put in prison, and very cruelly used and searched as witches, and their books taken from them and burnt, and none suffered to come to speak to them, while they were in prison : for there was a fine of five pounds laid upon any one that should come to see them in prison, or should conceal any of their books. Notwithstanding, there was one man came to the prison, and proffered to pay the fine that he might speak with them, but could not be admitted ; so, afterwards, they were sent aboard again, and not suffered any liberty at all ashore, and so were brought again to Barbadoes, from whence they came by order from the Governor of New England. Truly Mary Fisher is a precious heart, and hath been very serviceable here ; so likewise have John Rous and Peter Head, and the Lord hath given a blessing to their labours, for the fruits thereof appear, for here are many people convinced of the truth, (among whom the Lord is placing his name), who meet together in silence, in three several places in the island ; and the Lord is adding more, such as shall be saved.

*Hen: Fell.**

As it will be interesting to know something further of the history of Mary Fisher, and Anne Austin, being the first who landed on the American continent to promulgate the doctrines of

* Henry Fell was an eminent minister in the Society. In 1656, he proceeded on a visit to some of the West India Islands, and again in 1658. During the first visit, he was absent from home about one year. From 1659 to 1662, he was mostly engaged in gospel labours in England, and from this period we lose all trace of him. He is mentioned in Whiting's Catalogue as having died in America ; but in what part, or at what time, we are uninformed. His home was in Lancashire, and there is reason to believe that he was a near relative of Judge Fell. He appears to have received an education considerably above most of his day.

Friends, the present chapter will conclude with a brief sketch of their lives, as far as historical materials permit.

MARY FISHER was born in the north of England about the year 1623, and at a very early period of the Society's progress in that part, joined in profession with it, but of the precise date and circumstance of her conviction we have no record. She was one who possessed talents much above the average of her sex, and "whose intellectual faculties," observes an early writer, "were greatly adorned by the gravity of her deportment."* Her residence at the time of her conviction it is believed was at Pontefract in Yorkshire. She came forth as a minister of the gospel in 1652, and in the same year we find her imprisoned within York Castle, for addressing an assembly at the close of public worship at Selby; an imprisonment which lasted sixteen months.† Almost immediately on her release from this long confinement, she proceeded on a gospel mission to the south-eastern parts of England, in company with Elizabeth Williams, a fellow-labourer in the ministry. Two females thus travelling from county to county, publicly preaching the doctrines of the new Society in parts where hitherto its name had scarcely been known, must have excited no small surprise in the people amongst whom they came. They passed, however, without molestation through the country, until the Tenth Month, 1653, when they arrived at Cambridge. To the students at this seat of learning, the presence of itinerant preachers appeared an absurdity, but that Quaker women should attempt to preach in Cambridge, was, in their estimation, a still greater presumption. Mary Fisher and her friend, faithful to their call, "discoursed about the things of God" with the young students, and "preached at Sidney College gate" to the inmates of that establishment. But the doctrine of the freedom of gospel ministry, and the disuse of all ceremonial observances in religion, appeared to the letter-learned collegians mere jargon, and they began to mock and deride the two strangers as religious fanatics, whilst the mayor of the town, eager to support the orthodoxy of his church, ordered them to be taken to the

* Gerard Croese's History of the Quakers. Book second, p. 124.

† Besse's Sufferings of the People called Quakers. Vol. ii. p. 89.

market cross, and whipped, "until the blood ran down their bodies;"* a sentence which was executed with much barbarity. Before they had been tied to the whipping-post, in presence of the gazing multitude, these innocent women, at the footstool of divine mercy, sought forgiveness for their persecutors. The scene was altogether new and strange to the spectators, and they were astonished on beholding the Christian patience and constancy which characterized the conduct of the sufferers, and more especially when they heard them pray that their persecutors might be pardoned. The first imprisonment of a Friend, was that of George Fox, at Nottingham, in 1649. He had also, with several others of his fellow professors, borne much personal abuse: but it was not until Mary Fisher and her companion visited Cambridge, that any were publicly scourged. On this occasion Mary Fisher, under a presentiment of the troubles that awaited Friends, was heard to say, "this is but the beginning of the sufferings of the people of God."†

Towards the close of 1653, she felt called to "declare the truth in the steeple-house" at Pontefract, an act of dedication for which she was immured six months within the walls of York Castle. In the following year, she was subjected, by the Mayor of Pontefract, to three months additional confinement in this fortress, because she was "unrepentant" for addressing the assembly at Pontefract, "and for refusing to give sureties for her good behaviour." In 1655, we find her travelling in the ministry in Buckinghamshire, where she again for some months became the inmate of a prison, for "giving Christian exhortations to the priest and people."‡ It was also during 1655, that Mary Fisher felt a religious call to leave the shores of her native country, for the West India Islands, and North America. The date of her return from the western world was probably in the early part of 1657. During the same year she again visited the West Indies. In 1658, we trace her at Nevis.§ In 1660, under an impression of religious duty to visit Sultan Mahomet IV., she performed a long and arduous journey to the continent of Asia. After

* Besse's Sufferings, vol. i. p. 85. † Ibid, vol. ii. p. 85.

‡ MS. Sufferings of Friends.

§ Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii. p. 352.

visiting Italy, Zante, Corinth, and Smyrna, she at last reached Adrianople; where the Sultan was encamped with his army. Her interview with this great Asiatic monarch, and the courteous manner in which she was received by him, are circumstances so well known, as to render it unnecessary for us to refer more particularly to them. On leaving the court of this Mahomedan potentate, she proceeded to Constantinople, from whence she took her departure for England.

Soon after Mary Fisher had returned from the east, she was united in marriage with William Bayley of Poole, in Dorsetshire, an eminent minister in the Society. The marriage took place in the early part of 1662. William Bayley was by occupation a mariner, and occasionally made voyages to the West Indies, but he died when at sea, in the Fourth Month, 1675. Of the issue of this marriage we have no record; we find, however, that Sophia Hume, a ministering Friend of extraordinary character, was the grand-daughter of William and Mary Bayley.* In the Seventh Month, 1678, Mary Bayley was united in marriage with John Cross of London.†

How long John Cross and his wife resided in London after their union, does not appear, but, following the example of many other Friends of that day, they emigrated to America. In 1697, we find Mary a second time a widow, residing at Charlestown in South Carolina. Robert Barrow, after his providential escape from shipwreck on the coast of Florida, whilst travelling in the ministry, was conveyed by the Spaniards of St. Augustine, to Charlestown, where he became her welcome guest. Writing to his wife from this place, after mentioning the severe illness he had endured, arising from his privations, he thus speaks of his kind hostess: "At length we arrived at Ashley River, and it pleased God, I had the great fortune to have a good nurse, one whose name you have heard of, a Yorkshire woman, born within two miles of York; her maiden name was Mary Fisher, she that spake to the great Turk; afterwards William Bayley's wife. She

* Yearly Meeting of London MS. Testimonies concerning deceased ministers.

† Minutes of the "Two Weeks' Meeting" of London, vol. i. p. 118.

is now my landlady and nurse. She is a widow of a second husband, her name is now Mary Cross.*

At the date of Robert Barrow's letter, the age of Mary Cross could not have been much under seventy years. Since she left the shores of Britain for New England, forty-one years had elapsed. She doubtless finished her earthly course at Charlestown, but we regret that hitherto we have been unable to meet with any particulars of the close of her eventful life, or of the date when it took place. We may, however, reverently believe, that she was not unprepared for the solemn summons; and that she has entered into that rest, and enjoys that crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge giveth unto all those that love his appearing.

Respecting ANNE AUSTIN we have but few particulars to narrate. At the time of her visit to New England, she was mentioned as one "stricken in years,"† and as being the mother of five children. Her residence it appears was in the city of London. Expelled from Boston, she was carried with her companion Mary Fisher, to Barbadoes. Her stay on that island was not a prolonged one; as we find the expenses of her returning passage to England, included in the accounts of the Society for 1656-7. Continuing faithful in her high calling as a minister of Christ, Anne Austin, on her return to her native land, had to feel the persecuting hands of ungodly men; and thus one of the filthy gaols of London in 1659, became her abode, for exercising her gift in the assemblies of her own Society. From the time of her imprisonment at this date, to that of her decease, no incident is recorded of this dedicated woman. Her death occurred during the awful visitation of 1665, by which 100,000 of the inhabitants of London were called from time to eternity. The burial register of the Society states, that she died in the Sixth Month, 1665, of the plague, and was interred at Bunhill-fields; and we doubt not but that she was called to receive that reward, which is the sure inheritance of all the faithful in Christ.

* MS. Letter of R. Barrow to his wife, dated Twelfth Month, 1696-7.

† Gerard Croese's History of the Quakers, book ii. p. 124.

CHAPTER III.

Eight Ministers of the Society arrive at Boston from London—Their trunks are searched—They are committed to prison and sentenced to banishment—The captain who brought them, bound over to take them back to England—The magistrates take measures to legalize their persecuting proceedings—A law is enacted for banishing Friends from the colony of Boston—Nicholas Uphal testifies against the law—He is arrested, fined, imprisoned, and banished—He seeks refuge within the colony of Plymouth, and winters there—Is banished thence, and proceeds to Rhode Island.

IN the expulsion of Friends from New England, the rulers of Boston had evidently much underrated the task which they had unhappily imposed upon themselves ; and well would it have been for their country had their actions responded to the advice given by Gamaliel, in reference to the preaching of the Apostles at Jerusalem, when the Jews sought to slay them : “ Refrain from these men, and let them alone, for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought ; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.”* Scarcely had the ship, which bore the two messengers of the gospel from the shores of Massachusetts, bent her course towards the Carribbean sea, when another vessel from London, having on board eight other Friends, arrived in Boston Bay. These were Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Thomas Thurston, William Brend, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh.† The date of their

* Acts v. 38.

† In a letter of John Audland's to Margaret Fell, written during 1655, from Bristol, we find the following remark in reference to some of these. “ Many are raised up and moved for several parts ; there are four from hereaway moved to go for New England, two men and two women ; some are gone for France, and some for Holland.” The cir-

arrival was the 7th of the Sixth Month, 1656, being only two days after the departure of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin. "They had been brought here," they said, "in the will of God, having been made sensible of the cries and groans of his seed, which was crying unto him for help and deliverance under cruel bondage."*

The master of the vessel, almost immediately on his arrival, furnished the governor with a list of his passengers, and when it was known that eight of them were Quakers from England, with Richard Smith an inhabitant of Long Island, who professed with them, officers were forthwith sent on board with a warrant, commanding them "to search the boxes, chests, and trunks of the Quakers, for erroneous books and hellish pamphlets,"† and also to bring the Friends before the court then sitting at Boston. The orders being promptly executed, the Friends were subjected to a long and frivolous examination, mostly in reference to their belief in the nature of the Divine Being, and concerning the Scriptures. Respecting the latter, one of the priests contended, on the authority of the passage in the second epistle of Peter, i. 19, which alludes to "the more sure word of prophecy," that the Scriptures were the only rule and guide of life. The priest during the discussion, finding it difficult to maintain his position, began to admit more than was in accordance with the views of some of the magistrates, on which much dissension arose among them to the no small alarm and consternation of the priest. Long as the examination had been, the court was nevertheless desirous to resume it on the following day; the Friends were therefore committed to prison for the night, and brought up again on the following morning. The subjects upon which the prisoners were now interrogated, being those which they had

cumstance is also thus alluded to in a letter of Francis Howgill's, written a few months later. "Four from London and four from Bristol, are gone towards New England; pretty hearts; the blessing of the Lord is with them, and his dread goes before them."—*Caton's Collection of MSS.*

* Humphrey Norton's *New England's Ensign*, p. 7. † *Ibid*, p. 8.

discussed on the previous day, they declined replying, except by referring the magistrates to their former answers, which had been all carefully taken down. They then demanded to know why they had been arrested, and deprived of their liberty. Endicott, who had returned from the country, evading an answer to the question, replied, "Take heed ye break not *our ecclesiastical laws*, for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter."*

Notwithstanding the intolerant course pursued by the priests and magistrates on this occasion, it must not be supposed that the proceedings met with the sanction of the inhabitants generally; and it is only proper to add that the language of their governor gave rise to very intelligible marks of dissatisfaction. At the close of the examination, a sentence of banishment was pronounced upon the prisoners, instructions being issued for the close confinement of the eight English Friends, until the ship in which they came should be ready to return. Richard Smith, the Friend of Long Island, they determined should be sent home by sea, rather than by the shorter and more convenient way by land; these bigoted rulers considering it needful to use all precautionary means to prevent the "Quaker heretics" from even passing through their country.

The authorities having taken so summary a course against the Friends, now sent for the master of the vessel in which they came, in order to make him give bond in the sum of £500.† for conveying them to England at his own cost. The honest seaman, feeling that he had violated no law of his country, in having brought her free-born inhabitants to this part of her dominions, refused to comply with the arbitrary requisition. His opposition, however, proved unavailing; an imprisonment of four days sufficed to overcome his feelings of independence, and to reduce him to submission.

The authorities of Boston, anxious in their zeal to adopt every mode to secure the colony from the influence of Quakerism, issued the following order to the keeper of the prison:—

"You are, by virtue hereof, to keep the Quakers formerly

* New England Judged, by George Bishop, p. 10.

† Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 197.

committed to your custody as dangerous persons, industrious to improve all their abilities to seduce the people of this jurisdiction, both by words and letters, to the abominable tenets of the Quakers, and to keep them close prisoners, not suffering them to speak or confer with any person, nor permitting them to have paper or ink.

“ EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*”

August the 18th, 1656.

Subsequently, the gaoler was also ordered “ to search, as often as he saw meet, the boxes, chests and things of the Quakers formerly committed to his custody, for pen, ink and paper, papers and books, and to take them from them.”*

The extraordinary course, which the rulers of Massachusetts had taken in the prosecution of Friends, was not only in opposition to the laws of the mother country, but also without sanction from any of those of the colony. The authorities of Boston, eager as they were in the work of persecution, were not blind to their position in this respect ; and hence we find them anxiously endeavouring to promote measures for legalizing their wicked proceedings. On the 2nd of the Seventh Month, 1656, the governor and magistrates of the Boston patent assembled, and prepared a letter addressed to “ The Commissioners of the United Provinces,” who were about to meet at Plymouth ; in which they recommended, “ That some generall rules may bee comended to each Generall Court, to prevent the coming in amongst us from foraigne places such notorious heretiques, as Quakers, Ranters, &c.” The subject having been thus brought before the commissioners, the sanction of that body was obtained for framing a law, to justify the course which the rulers at Boston had pursued, and to legalize future intolerance. They agreed to “ propose to the severall Generall Courts, that all Quakers, Ranters, and other notorious heretiques bee prohibited coming into the United Colonies ; and if any shall hereafter come or arise amongst us, that they bee forthwith ceccured or removed out of all the jurisdictions.”

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 179.

Encouraged by the recommendation of the Commissioners, the authorities at Boston soon passed a law for the banishment of Friends from their territory. This persecuting enactment was the first in America specially directed against the Society. It is as follows :—

“ At a General Court held at Boston the 14th of October, 1656.

“ Whereas, there is a cursed sect of *heretics* lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent of God, and infallibly assisted by the Spirit, to speak and write blasphemous opinions, despising government, and the order of God in the church and commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn the people from the faith, and gain proselytes to their pernicious ways. This court, taking into consideration the premises, and to prevent the like mischief, as by their means is wrought in our land, doth hereby order, and by authority of this court, be it ordered and enacted, that what master, or commander of any ship, bark, pink, or ketch, shall henceforth bring into any harbour, creek or cove, within this jurisdiction, any Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics, shall pay or cause to be paid, the fine of one hundred pounds to the treasurer of the country, except it appear he want true knowledge or information of their being such, and in that case he hath liberty to clear himself by his oath, when sufficient proof to the contrary is wanting: and for default of good payment, or good security for it, shall be cast into prison, and there to continue till the said sum be satisfied to the Treasurer as aforesaid. And the commander of any ketch, ship or vessel, being legally convicted, shall give in sufficient security to the governor, or any one or more of the magistrates, who have power to determine the same, to carry them back to the place whence he brought them, and on his refusal so to do, the governor, or one or more of the magistrates, are hereby empowered to issue out his or their warrants, to commit such master or commander to prison, there to continue till he give in sufficient security to the content of the governor, or any of the magistrates aforesaid. And it is

hereby further ordered and enacted, That what Quaker soever shall arrive in this country from foreign parts, or shall come into this jurisdiction from any parts adjacent, shall be forthwith committed to the house of correction, and, at their entrance, to be severely whipped, and by the master thereof to be kept constantly to work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them during the time of their imprisonment, which shall be no longer than necessity requires. And it is ordered, If any person shall knowingly import into any harbour of this jurisdiction any Quaker books, or writings concerning their devilish opinions, shall pay for such book or writing, being legally proved against him or them, the sum of five pounds ; and whosoever shall disperse or conceal any such book, or writing, and it be found with him or her, or in his or her house, and shall not immediately deliver the same to the next magistrate, shall forfeit or pay five pounds for the dispersing or concealing of every such book or writing. And it is hereby further enacted, That if any person within this colony shall take upon them to defend the heretical opinions of the Quakers, or any of their books or papers as aforesaid, if legally proved, shall be fined for the first time forty shillings ; if they shall persist in the same, and shall again defend it the second time, four pounds ; if notwithstanding they shall again defend and maintain the said Quakers' heretical opinions, they shall be committed to the house of correction till there be convenient passage to send them out of the land, being sentenced by the court of assistants to banishment. Lastly, it is hereby ordered, That what person or persons soever shall revile the persons of magistrates or ministers, as is usual with the Quakers, such person or persons shall be severely whipped, or pay the sum of five pounds.

" This is a true copy of the court's order, as attests

" EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*"

The passing of the foregoing law in the usual way, together with its official recognition on the statute books of the colony, was, in the estimation of its advocates, too quiet a mode of disposing of the measure. It was important in their view that the settlers of Massachusetts should be thoroughly impressed with

the fearful character of the "cursed sect," and the dangerous consequences to which they would be exposed, if such "blasphemous heretics" were permitted to come amongst them. With beat of drum, therefore, in order to arouse the attention of the inhabitants, the law in question, was in a few days publicly proclaimed in the streets of Boston, producing a degree of excitement and commotion, to which the city had hitherto been much a stranger.

Turning again to the imprisoned Friends, we find as the time for their embarkation approached, that the officers under the provisions of another warrant, made a distraint on the goods of the prisoners for the payment of the gaoler's fees, in pursuance of which all their bedding was taken. In this state, unprepared for a voyage across the wide Atlantic, the sufferers were inhumanly thrust on board the vessel now about to sail, and had not their goods been kindly redeemed by some of the inhabitants, who were touched with sympathy for them in their distress—they would have been forced away, thus unprovided, from the shores of America. After an imprisonment of about eleven weeks, and in the Eighth Month, 1656, the Friends were borne off from Boston, and after crossing the ocean in safety, they landed at London. Thus ended the second attempt of members of the Society to preach the gospel on the continent of the western world.

The preceding details of Puritan persecution in New England, relate to the treatment of those, who came as strangers to that country. Our attention will now be directed to cruelties practised towards colonists, who had been convinced that the principles of the banished Friends, harmonized with the doctrines and precepts of Christ. In the relation of the treatment which Mary Fisher and Anne Austin received at Boston, allusion is made to the christian conduct of an aged inhabitant of the place, in supplying those persecuted women with provisions during their imprisonment. This individual was Nicholas Upshal, whose sufferings we have now to record, under the conscientious testimony which he bore, against the wicked and arbitrary proceedings of his countrymen. He had "long been an inhabitant and freeman of

Boston," was a zealous and faithful christian, and one, who, from his earlier years, had been held in much esteem, as a man of "sober and unblameable conversation." He had been a Puritan in religious profession, and in the prosperity of the particular congregation to which he belonged, he had been deeply interested for a long series of years. But the forms and ceremonies of his church had for some time past been burdensome to him. He had felt their insufficiency to satisfy the soul in its longing and thirsting after God; and he was prepared to receive more spiritual views of religious truth. When therefore, he found on inquiry, that the views of the persecuted strangers, who renounced all outward observances in religion, pointed emphatically to the inward appearance of Christ, as the consolation and strength of the Christian, and as the leader and guide of his people everywhere, they met with a response in his bosom, and "he was much refreshed."*

The cruel law enacted in New England against Friends, and which had been ostentatiously announced to the citizens of Boston by beat of drum, deeply affected the mind of this good man. Being "grieved at the heart," therefore, under the impression that these unrighteous actions would be followed by the just judgments of the Most High, when the proclamation of the law was made before his own door, he felt constrained to raise his voice in public disapprobation of the act. He was anxious that his fellow-citizens might know that he disclaimed any participation in proceedings utterly at variance with the character of true religion. The conscientious course pursued by the venerable colonist, was viewed by the self-righteous rulers as a grave offence against their authority, and one which required the marked severity of the court. On the following morning, therefore, he was cited to appear before them, to answer the charge preferred against him, "for having expressed his disapprobation of the law against Quakers." Thus arraigned, Nicholas Upshal, "in much tenderness and love," pleaded with his fellow-citizens on the iniquitous course they were pursuing, and warned them "to take heed lest they should be found fighting against God."† The

* Norton's Ensign, p. 12.

† Ibid, p. 13.

magistrates were untouched by his appeal, and in their determination to crush any questioning of their acts, fined, imprisoned, and banished him from the colony. The fine was twenty pounds, and the time allowed him to prepare for his expatriation was only thirty days, four of which he passed in prison. He was also subjected to an additional fine of three pounds, for not attending the usual place of worship, while under sentence of banishment.

The time had arrived when Nicholas Upshal was to bid a final farewell to a city, memorable to himself, and others of the older inhabitants, as a place of refuge, which, through many trials and difficulties, they had sought in the wilds of the western world, from "persecution at home." The weak and "aged" colonist leaving his wife and children, towards the close of the Tenth Month, proceeded southward in the hope of finding a shelter at Sandwich, within the colony of Plymouth. The governor of this colony, had it appears, been apprised of his intention, and, desiring to assist in driving Quakers from Massachusetts, had issued a warrant, forbidding any of the people of Sandwich to entertain him. The inhabitants of the town, however, were not disposed to close their doors on the distressed, many of them had too much regard for the precepts of Christianity, to abandon the houseless and aged stranger to the inclemencies of a wintry season; and Nicholas Upshal found a ready home amongst them. But the hospitality of the kind-hearted people of Sandwich, displeased their governor, who, desirous of having this victim of priestly intolerance more immediately within his grasp, issued a special warrant for his appearance before him at Plymouth. The coldness of the winter, together with the precarious state of Nicholas Upshal's health, would, he believed, endanger his life, if he attempted to obey the summons. He, therefore, wisely concluded not to comply, and informed the governor by letter, that if the warrant should be enforced, and he perished, his blood would be required at his hands. His resolution not to remove from Sandwich is supposed to have received encouragement from the townsmen, by whom also it appears the constabulary were restrained from enforcing the warrant, and to the same course some of the more moderate of the magistrates inclined. In the early part of the following spring, however, the authorities of Sandwich at the

unremitting solicitation of the governor, resolved that the banished man should find a home elsewhere. On the intimation of this resolution, the attention of the exile was directed to Rhode Island, as a place of safety. He knew that its liberal-minded settlers would allow him a home amongst them; could he be favoured to reach their free soil. This he attempted, and, "through many difficulties and dangers," at last landed at Newport, its principal town. Here his banishment became the general theme of conversation. The untutored Indians, who still lingered about the dwellings of the white man, heard the tale with emotions of sorrow; and one, who was touched with the hardness of his lot, offered him a home among his tribe; and promised that, "if he would come and live with him, he would make him a good warm house."* Another chief, whose contemplative mind led him to reflect on the character of that religion, which could prompt its followers to such acts of inhumanity, was heard to exclaim, "What a God have the English, who deal so with one another about their God!"†

The tyranny which had marked the conduct of the rulers of Massachusetts began to open the eyes of many of the settlers, to the incongruity of the spirit, which prompted to such deeds, with that of the benign religion of Jesus Christ. Notwithstanding the earnest endeavours of the priests and rulers, by the stringent clauses of their act against Quakers, to prevent the introduction of their tenets, a desire was excited in the minds of not a few, to acquaint themselves more intimately with the doctrines and practices of a sect, whose presence it was even deemed improper to allow among them; and, thus, very soon, a knowledge of Quaker doctrines was more or less spread abroad in all the New England colonies. Among these, as in the mother country, there were found piously disposed individuals, who were, to a great extent, prepared to receive the simple and spiritual views of Christianity, as professed by Friends, and some, at a very early period became united in religious fellowship with them. Further remarks on this interesting point will be given in a future chapter.

* Norton's Ensign, p. 14. † Sewel's History of Friends, p. 161.

CHAPTER IV.

Mary Dyer and Ann Burden arrive at Boston from London—They are immediately imprisoned and sentenced to banishment—Ann Burden is sent to England—Mary Dyer goes to her home on Rhode Island—Extract from a letter of Henry Fell to Margaret Fell—Eleven Friends in the ministry feel a religious call to visit New England—Their difficulty in procuring a passage—Robert Fowler, a Friend, offers his small vessel for the purpose—His offer is accepted—Proceedings of the Society for defraying the expenses of this and other foreign gospel missions—They sail from London—William Dewsbury visits them at the Downs—His letter to Margaret Fell—Robert Fowler's narrative of the voyage—Fac-simile of a letter from W. Robinson one of the martyrs in New England, written to Margaret Fell, during the voyage—Five of the Friends land at New Amsterdam, now New York—The others proceed to Rhode Island—John Copeland's letter from Rhode Island.

FOR a few months after the banishment of Nicholas Upshal, the colony of Boston appeared to be clear of "Quaker heretics." The law which had been passed for their exclusion, the Puritan rulers and ecclesiastics fondly hoped would prove effectual for its intended purpose; and thus ended the year 1656. But this eventful period in the history of Friends in America had scarcely closed, ere others of the Society were directing their course to the forbidden land of Massachusetts, and as early probably as the First Month of 1657, Mary Dyer and Ann Burden reached the bay of that colony.

Mary Dyer was an inhabitant of Rhode Island, and had been on a visit to Great Britain, but for what purpose it is not clear. Whilst in England, she became convinced of the principles of Friends, and had received a gift in the ministry. Ann Burden, it appears, at this period was not a minister. She had formerly lived in New England, having been an inhabitant of Boston or

its vicinity for sixteen years ; but her husband had removed his family to England and died there. She therefore now came to Boston, for the purpose of collecting some debts due to his estate. Both had been Antinomian exiles of Massachusetts ; * Mary Dyer and her husband on their banishment, had sought refuge in the free colony of Rhode Island, whilst Ann Burden and her husband returned to their native land, to enjoy that religious freedom which the Puritans found under the Commonwealth.

Almost immediately on the arrival of M. Dyer and A. Burden off Boston, under the provisions of the Act against Quakers, they were seized by order of the magistrates, and placed under close confinement, in order "that none might come at them." † On their examination, Ann Burden pleaded the lawfulness of her business in the colony, but the only reply given to her reasoning was, that "she was a plain Quaker, and must abide their law. ‡ After an imprisonment of three months, during which she suffered from indisposition, she was placed on shipboard for banishment.

The object of Ann Burden's voyage from England being thus frustrated by the unrelenting rulers, the sympathy of the kind-hearted people of the town was excited on her behalf : some of them exerted themselves in favour of the persecuted widow, and her fatherless children, and collected a portion of her debts, in goods, to the value of about forty pounds. But the goods being of a description unsuited for the English market, they interceded with the magistracy that she might be allowed to take them to Barbadoes, where they would find a ready sale. This humane and reasonable request was, however, unavailing. The master of the ship was "compelled to carry her to England ; § and on inquiring from whom he was to receive payment for her returning passage, he was advised to seize a sufficient quantity of her goods to meet the charge ; but with the remark that it was without her consent that she became his passenger, he declined to act upon the recommendation. The moral sensibilities of the magistrates blunted by sectarian bigotry, not being so nice on the question of

* See Introduction, p. 20.

† New England Judged, p. 38.

‡ New England Judged, p. 38.

§ Ibid, p. 39.

right or wrong in the matter, as that which the sea captain had evinced, they immediately ordered a distraint upon the goods of the prisoner, to the amount of six pounds and ten shillings, for payment of the passage money ; and, not deeming this a sufficient infliction on the distressed widow for professing Quakerism in their territory, they subsequently directed that none of the remaining portion of her goods should be shipped ; so that, she received no part of the goods collected for her ; and, excepting the small sum of six shillings, sent by an honest debtor, she obtained no portion of the amount due to her husband's estate.

How long Mary Dyer was imprisoned is not stated, but her husband, who was not in religious profession with Friends, on hearing of his wife's imprisonment, came from Rhode Island to fetch her. So much, however, did the priests and rulers of Boston dread Quaker influence, that they would not allow him to take her to his home, "until he became bound in a great penalty not to lodge her in any town of the colony, nor permit any to have speech with her on her journey."*

The following extract from a letter addressed by Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, contains some additional facts relative to the visit of Mary Dyer and Ann Burden.

HENRY FELL TO MARGARET FELL.

Barbadoes, 19th of Twelfth Month, 1656.

MY DEARLY BELOVED, in the Lord Jesus Christ,—

I was expecting to come away with the next ship, seeing freedom to come away from this place, and knowing no other then but for England. But truly at present the Lord hath ordered it otherwise, and, though it was contrary to my own will, yet by his eternal power, I was made willing to give up all to Him who hath laid down his life for me. Upon the 9th day of the Eleventh Month, the word of the Lord came to me that I should go to New England, there to be a witness for Him ; so I was made willing to offer up my life and all, in obedience to the Lord ;

* New England Judged, p. 39.

for his word was as a fire, and a hammer in me ; though then in outward appearance there was no likelihood of getting passage thither, by reason of a cruel law which they have made against any Friends coming thither, (the copy whereof is here enclosed) but yet I was made confident, and bid [of the Lord] to wait till there was way made for me, and so about fourteen days after, a ship came in hither, which was going to New England, and was upon that coast, but the storms were so violent that they were forced to come hither, while the winter there was nearly over. In this ship are two Friends, Ann Burden of Bristol, and one Mary Dyer from London ; both lived in New England formerly, and were members cast out of their churches. Mary goes to her husband who lives upon Rhode Island, (which they [the Puritans] call the island of error ;) where they do banish those to, that dissent from them in judgment ; and its likely Ann Burden hath some outward business there. In this ship the master hath permitted me passage, whom the Lord hath made pretty willing to carry me, and, he saith he will endeavour to put me ashore upon some part of New England, out of their power and jurisdiction, who have made that law. In the jurisdiction of Plymouth patent, where there is a people not so rigid as the other at Boston, are great desires among them after the truth ; some there are, as I hear, convinced, who meet in silence at a place called Salem. Oh ! truly great is the desire of my soul to be amongst them for the Seed's sake, which groans for deliverance from under that Egyptian bondage. I cannot express the desire of my soul towards them, and the love that flows out after them daily ; for I see in the eternal light, the Lord hath a great work to do in that nation ; and the time is hastening, and coming on apace, wherein He will exalt his own name and his power over all the heathen that know Him not."*

Hen: F. M.

* It does not appear that Henry Fell was enabled to reach New England on this occasion.

The ship which conveyed Ann Burden to the shores of Britain, had scarcely weighed anchor for her passage across the Atlantic, before six of the eight Friends, who had been expelled from Boston in the preceding year, believed themselves required to attempt another voyage to New England, "being firmly persuaded that the Lord had called them to bear testimony to his truth in these parts, and having a full assurance of faith, that He would support them through whatsoever exercises He should be pleased to suffer them to be tried with." These were, William Brend, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Wetherhead and Dorothy Waugh.* About the same time a similar impression of religious duty was felt by five others, viz., Robert Hodgson, Humphrey Norton, Richard Doudney, William Robinson and Mary Clark.

The persecuting enactment of the court of Boston, which imposed serious penalties on the master of any ship who should venture to land Quakers within the limits of its jurisdiction, had

* The remaining two of the eight were Thomas Thurston and Mary Prince. The former again visited America, and to whom we shall hereafter refer; but the latter does not appear to have had any further call in her divine Master's service to that land. As it is our intention to give brief notices of the lives of those who visited the new continent in the work of the gospel, before we turn from the subject of the visit of Mary Prince and her companions, we shall give a few particulars concerning her.

Mary Prince was an inhabitant of Bristol, and was one of those who were convinced through the powerful and baptizing ministry of John Camm and John Audland, on their visit to that city in 1654. Soon after her conviction she was called to labour in word and doctrine, we have, however, no particulars of her services as a gospel minister, until her visit to Boston in 1658. In 1660, she travelled extensively on the continent of Europe with Mary Fisher. During the years 1663 and 1664, this devoted Friend, in common with most of her fellow-professors in Bristol, suffered severely for her religion. Within these two years she was three times committed to prison in that city. Her daughter Hannah, about this period, was united in marriage with Charles Marshall, a physician of Bristol, who had also been convinced, and, who in a few years after also came forth in the ministry. Mary Prince died in the Tenth Month 1679: in the burial record she is described as a widow of Castle Precincts, Bristol.

now become known in England, and a reluctance was naturally felt by the owners of vessels to take them as passengers. There appeared, therefore, no very early prospect that these devoted individuals would be able to obtain a passage to New England. But He, who is wonderful in working, and excellent in counsel, and who is often pleased to manifest his wisdom and power, at a time and in a way least expected by short-sighted man, was providing a means by which his servants might be enabled to go forward in the work to which He had called them. Robert Fowler, a ministering Friend of Burlington, in Yorkshire, a mariner by occupation, had about this time, completed the building of a small vessel ; and whilst it was in the course of construction, he was impressed with the belief, that he should have to devote it to some purpose in furtherance of the cause of Truth. He first sailed in his new ship to London ; and whilst at this port thought it right to state the feelings which had impressed him to Gerard Roberts, a merchant of Watling Street. Gerard, who was one of the most active members of the Society in making the needful arrangements for the visits of its ministers to foreign parts, was not slow to discover that a providential hand had led to their interview. To all human appearance the vessel was far too small to venture with safety on the mighty billows of the Atlantic ; but Gerard Roberts and his brethren, not questioning that this was the mode provided for conveying the party to New England, engaged it for that purpose.*

The fact, that eleven Friends in the ministry were about to leave their native land for the shores of New England, and under circumstances so peculiar, did not fail, as it may be readily supposed, to produce an unusual degree of interest in the Society ;

* The expenses incurred by several of these early missions were considerable, but the services having been undertaken with the full concurrence of the Society, the charges were paid from a fund raised for the purpose, in a manner similar to the practice of the Society in the present day. In the year following that in which Robert Fowler sailed with the little company for America, the first Yearly Meeting of the Society was held. It took place at Scalehouse, about three miles from Skipton, in Yorkshire. At this meeting the subject of the visits of Friends " beyond

and a deep solicitude was felt, that He who holdeth the waters as in the hollow of his hand, might go with them, and prosper them in that whereunto they were sent. On the 1st

sea" claimed much attention, and it was agreed to recommend a general collection in aid of these gospel missions. In pursuance of this conclusion the following epistle was issued :—

At a meeting of Friends out of the Northern Counties of York, Lincoln, Lancaster, Cheshire, Nottingham, Derby, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, at Scalehouse, the 24th of the Fourth Month, 1658.

Having heard of great things done by the mighty power of God, in many nations beyond the seas, whither He hath called forth many of our dear brethren and sisters, to preach the everlasting Gospel ; by whom He hath revealed the mystery of His truth, which hath been hid from ages and generations, who are now in strange lands, in great straits and hardships, and in the daily hazard of their lives :—our bowels yearn for them, and our hearts are filled with tender love to those precious ones of God, who so freely have given up for the Seed's sake, their friends, their near relations, their country and worldly estates, yea, and their own lives also ; and in the feeling we are [have] of their trials, necessities and sufferings, we do therefore in the unity of the Spirit and bond of truth, cheerfully agree, in the Lord's name and power, to move and stir up the hearts of Friends in these counties, (whom God hath called and gathered out of the world,) with one consent, freely and liberally, to offer up unto God of their earthly substance, according as God hath blessed every one,—to be speedily sent up to London, as a free-will offering for the Seed's sake ; that the hands of those that are beyond the seas in the Lord's work may be strengthened, and their bowels refreshed, from the love of their brethren. And we commit it to the care of our dear brethren of London, Amos Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts, John Boulton, Thomas Hart, and Richard Davis, to order and dispose of what shall be from us sent unto them, for the supply of such as are already gone forth, or such as shall be moved of the Lord to go forth, into any other nation, of whose care and faithfulness we are well assured. And such Friends as are here present, are to be diligent in their several counties and places, that the work may be hastened with all convenient speed.

[Signed by many Friends.]

From the Original.

The appeal thus made was liberally responded to, and, considering the relative value of money at that period, a large amount was raised. Respecting this collection, and the manner in which it was expended, a

of the Fourth Month, 1657, Robert Fowler sailed with the party from London, and on the following day reached the Downs. Here,

curious and interesting account, hitherto unpublished, has been found in the Swarthmore collection of MSS., which is inserted :—

ACCOMPTS OF MONIES RECEIVED
FOR THE SERVICE OF TRUTH.

	£	s.	d.
Yorkshire - -	30	0	0
Berkshire - -	46	11	4
Essex - -	48	10	5
Buckinghamshire	9	0	4
Kingston - -	2	15	0
Wellingborough -	5	13	0
Kent - -	14	1	0
Sussex - -	24	16	4
Camb. and Hunting-			
don - -	19	12	9
Cheshire - -	19	5	0
Shrewsbury - -	1	14	4
Durham - -	21	0	0
Guildford - -	19	17	9
Lincolnshire - -	12	0	0
Norfolk - -	38	0	0
Worcestershire -	10	13	1
Newport - -	6	8	8
Tibbalds - -	4	6	6
Leicestershire -	4	18	6
Southampton - -	8	18	8
Cornwall - -	14	0	0
Radnorshire - -	2	9	0
Suffolk - -	30	4	11
Dorsetshire - -	3	12	0
Bedfordshire - -	2	7	0
Jacob-street - -	4	4	0
Rutlandshire - -	4	16	4
Oxford - -	3	0	0
Gloucestershire -	2	2	6
Somersetshire - -	17	11	8
Banbury - -	10	13	4
The total,	443	3	5

MONIES DISBURSED FOR THE SERVICE
OF TRUTH.

	£	s.	d.
For Friends diet returning			
from New England -	12	0	0
John Stubbs, to Holland	4	13	0
For clothes and other things	5	7	9
To take with him -	3	10	2
Paid in Holland for him,			
and other Friends there	19	18	0
Will. Caton, to Holland	2	10	0
Geo. Bayley, to France -	4	5	0
Will. Shaw, a suit -	2	4	0
Books to France and Jersey	4	10	0

To NEW ENGLAND.

For provision for their voyage	29	10	0
Paid to the master for part			
of his freight - -	30	0	0
For bedding and other things	12	8	0
And in money - -	35	4	4
More to William Brend	1	10	8
Do. M. Weatherhead	2	0	0
Do. Sarah Gibbons	4	10	0

To TURKEY.

For passage, to Cpt. Marshall	25	0	0
For their diet - -	10	0	0
For bedding, and other ne-			
cessaries - - -	7	16	0
Paid in money to them	46	19	11
Paid by bill of exchange for			
them in Turkey - -	60	0	0
Again, by bill for John			
Perrot in Turkey - -	20	0	0
Again for their use in money			
and other things -	7	9	8

Over, 341 6 6

William Dewsbury, who was engaged in gospel labours in Kent, went on board to visit them, and was enabled to hand them a

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
Brought over,	443	3	5	Brought over,	341	6	6	
				For Geo. Rofe, to Holland	2	10	0	
				For Ann Austin's passage				
				back from Barbadoes	-	8	6	0
				For part of M. Fisher's pas-				
				sage back from Barbadoes	2	4	6	
				For letters out of France	0	17	0	
				To Hester Biddle	-	1	10	0
				To Geo. Bayley, in France	5	0	0	
				For Books to Virginia	-	2	5	0
				John Hall, to Holland	10	12	8	
				For two Friends that re-				
				turned from Hamburgh	1	10	0	
				For necessaries for John				
				Hall	-	4	15	11
				To Sam. Fisher	-	12	4	6
				More to Sam. Fisher	-	1	7	6
				For the Friends that went				
				to Venice	-	47	1	0
				For one Friend to Jamaica,				
				for her passage	-	6	0	0
				For necessaries	-	8	5	6
				To the other Friends that				
				went to Jamaica	-	12	4	8
				More for Friends beyond sea	1	0	0	
				To Hen. Fell, clothes and				
				necessaries	-	4	0	8
				For clothes for Ann Austin,				
				when she went to keep				
				Sam. Fisher's house	3	1	0	
				To John Harwood, when he				
				came out of France	-	4	10	0
Brought over,	443	3	5	The total sum,	480	12	5	

At the General or Yearly Meeting held at Skipton, the 25th day of the Second Month, 1660, an epistle was issued containing a recommendation for a similar collection. It commences thus:—

“DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

“We having certain information from some Friends of London, of

word of encouragement. Writing to Margaret Fell about that time, he thus notices going on board :—

WILLIAM DEWSBURY TO MARGARET FELL.*

Kent, the 5th of Fourth Month, 1657.

DEAR SISTER,

— Friends that go to New England I was aboard with in the Downs, the third day of this month. They were, in their measure, bold in the power of God : the life did arise in them. When I came off, they did go on in the name and power of the Lord our God. His everlasting presence keep them in the unity, in the life, and prosper them in his work : for many dear children shall come forth in the power of God in those countries where they desire to go.

In the power of the Lord God, farewell.



As they passed down the English Channel the wind blew roughly, and it was deemed advisable to put in at Portsmouth. Whilst at this place, William Robinson, one of the eleven, addressed the following letter to Margaret Fell :—

the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas, in several parts and regions, as Germany, America, and many other islands and places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, Newfoundland ; through all which, Friends have passed in the service of the Lord, and divers other countries, places, islands, and nations ; and among many nations of the Indians, in which they have had service for the Lord, and through great travails have published His name, and declared the everlasting gospel of peace unto them that have been afar off, that they might be brought nigh unto God," &c.

A collection is then recommended in every particular meeting, to be sent "as formerly, to London, for the service and use aforesaid."

* Caton Collection of MSS., being an ancient volume of letters of Early Friends copied by William Caton.

WILLIAM ROBINSON TO MARGARET FELL.

Southampton, the 6th of the Fourth Month, 1657.

M. F.,

Dear Sister, my dear love salutes thee in that which thinks not ill, which was before words were, in which I stand faithful to him who hath called us, and doth arm us against the fiery darts of the enemy, even in the fear and dread of the Almighty. I know thee and have union with thee, though absent from thee. I thought it meet to let thee know, that the ship that carries Friends to New England is now riding in Portsmouth harbour. We only stay for a fair wind. The two Friends, the man and his wife, which thou told me of when I was with thee at Swarthmore, I hear nothing of their coming to London as yet; so I thought good to let thee know the names of them that do go, which are ten in number, in the work of the ministry; Humphrey Norton, Robert Hodshon, Dorothy Waugh, Christo. Holder, William Brend, John Copeland, Rich. Doudney, Mary Weatherhead, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Clarke. The master of the ship, his name is Robert Fowler, a Friend; so in that which changes not, I remain,



Robert Hodshon is with me at this place, for we came hither this afternoon to have a meeting, seeing the wind is at present contrary; but we intend, if the Lord permit, to return back again to the ship to-morrow. Robert remembers his dear love to thee, and to the rest of Friends, with mine also.—W. R.

They sailed from Portsmouth on the 11th of the Fourth Month, and after once more touching English ground, the little bark was fairly launched on the mighty ocean. During the passage, several incidents of an interesting character occurred, which are detailed in a descriptive account penned by Robert Fowler himself; a manuscript copy of which, endorsed by George Fox, is still preserved among the archives of the Society in London. The narrative, though lengthy, is too interesting to be omitted in these pages. It is as follows:—

A TRUE RELATION OF THE VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN BY ME ROBERT FOWLER, WITH MY SMALL VESSEL CALLED THE "WOODHOUSE;" BUT PERFORMED BY THE LORD, LIKE AS HE DID NOAH'S ARK, WHEREIN HE SHUT UP A FEW RIGHTEOUS PERSONS AND LANDED THEM SAFE, EVEN AT THE HILL ARARAT.

The true discourse taken as followeth. This vessel was appointed for this service from the beginning, as I have often had it manifested unto me; that it was said within me several times, "Thou hast her not for nothing;" and also New England presented before me. Also, when she was finished and freighted, and made to sea, contrary to my will, was brought to London, where, speaking touching this matter to Gerard Roberts and others, they confirmed the matter in behalf of the Lord, that it must be so. Yet entering into reasoning, and letting in temptations and hardships, and the loss of my life, wife, and children, with the enjoyment of all earthly things, it brought me as low as the grave, and laid me as one dead as to the things of God. But by his instrument George Fox, was I refreshed and raised up again, which before was much contrary to myself, that I could as willingly have died as have gone; but by the strength of God I was [now] made willing to do his will; yea, the customs and fashions of the custom-house could not stop me. Still was I assaulted with the enemy, who pressed from me my servants;* so that for this long voyage we were but two men and three boys, besides myself.

Upon the 1st day of the Fourth Month, called June, received I the Lord's servants aboard, who came with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm with them; so that with courage we set sail, and came to the Downs the 2nd day, where our dearly beloved William Dewsbury, with Mich. Thompson came aboard, and in them we were much refreshed; and, after recommending us to the grace of God, we launched forth.

* England had about this time fitted out a fleet for the Baltic, in order, as was alleged, to stop the aggressions of the Swedish monarch towards Denmark.

Again reason entered upon me, and thoughts rose in me to have gone to the Admiral, and have made complaint for the want of my servants, and for a convoy, from which thing I was withholden by that Hand which was my helper. Shortly after the south wind blew a little hard, so that it caused us to put in at Portsmouth, where I was furnished with choice of men, according to one of the captains words to me, that I might have enough for money ; but he said my vessel was so small, he would not go the voyage for her.

Certain days we lay there, wherein the ministers of Christ were not idle, but went forth and gathered sticks, and kindled a fire, and left it burning ; also several Friends came on board and visited us, in which we were refreshed. Again we launched forth from thence about the 11th day of the Fourth Month, and were put back again into South Yarmouth, where we went ashore, and there in some measure did the like. Also we met with three pretty large ships which were for the Newfoundland, who did accompany us about fifty leagues, but might have done 300, if they had not feared the men-of-war ; but for escaping them they took to the northward, and left us without hope of help as to the outward ; though before our parting it was showed to Humphrey Norton early in the morning, that they were nigh unto us that sought our lives, and he called unto me and told me ; but said, " Thus saith the Lord, ye shall be carried away as in a mist ; " and presently we espied a great ship making up towards us, and the three great ships were much afraid, and tacked about with what speed they could ; in the very interim the Lord God fulfilled his promise, and struck our enemies in the face with a contrary wind, wonderfully to our refreshment. Then upon our parting from these three ships we were brought to ask counsel of the Lord, and the word was from Him, " Cut through and steer your straightest course, and mind nothing but me ; " unto which thing He much provoked us, and caused us to meet together every day, and He himself met with us, and manifested himself largely unto us, so that by storms we were not prevented [from meeting] above three times in all our voyage. The sea was my figure, for if anything got up within, the sea without rose up against me, and

then the floods clapped their hands, of which in time I took notice, and told Humphrey Norton. Again, in a vision of the night, I saw some anchors swimming about the water, and something also of a ship which crossed our way, which in our meeting I saw fulfilled, for I myself, with others, had lost ours, so that for a little season the vessel run loose in a manner ; which afterwards, by the wisdom of God, was recovered into a better condition than before.

Also upon the 25th day of the same month, in the morning, we saw another great ship making up towards us, which did appear, far off, to be a frigate, and made her sign for us to come to them, which unto me was a great cross, we being to windward of them ; and it was said, " Go speak him, the cross is sure ; did I ever fail thee therein ? " And unto others there appeared no danger in it, so that we did ; and it proved a tradesman of London, by whom we writ back. Also it is very remarkable, when we had been five weeks at sea in a bark, wherein the powers of darkness appeared in the greatest strength against us, having sailed but about 300 leagues, Humphrey Norton falling into communion with God, told me that he had received a comfortable answer ; and also that about such a day we should land in America, which was even so fulfilled. Also thus it was all the voyage with the faithful, who were carried far above storms and tempests, that when the ship went either to the right hand or to the left, their hands joined all as one, and did direct her way ; so that we have seen and said, we see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head ; we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our Line, which was and is our Leader, Guide, and Rule, but they that did failed.

Upon the last day of the Fifth Month, 1657, we made land. It was part of Long Island, far contrary to the expectations of the pilot ; furthermore, our drawing had been all the passage to keep to the southwards, until the evening before we made land, and then the word was, " There is a lion in the way ; " unto which we gave obedience, and said, " Let them steer northwards until the day following ; " and soon after the middle of the day

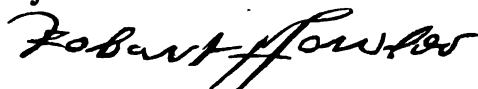
there was a drawing to meet together before our usual time, and it was said, that we may look abroad in the evening ; and as we sat waiting upon the Lord they discovered the land, and our mouths were opened in prayer and thanksgiving ; and as way was made, we made towards it, and espying a creek, our advice was to enter there, but the will of man [in the pilot] resisted ; but in that state we had learned to be content, and told him both sides were safe, but going that way would be more trouble to him ; also he saw after he had laid by all the night, the thing fulfilled.

Now to lay before you, in short, the largeness of the wisdom, will, and power of God ! thus, this creek led us in between the Dutch Plantation and Long Island, where the movings of some Friends were unto, which otherwise had been very difficult for them to have gotten to : also the Lord God that moved them brought them to the place appointed, and led us into our way, according to the word which came unto Christopher Holder, " You are in the road to Rhode Island." In that creek came a shallop to meet us, taking us to be strangers, we making our way with our boat, and they spoke English, and informed us, and also guided us along. The power of the Lord fell much upon us, and an irresistible word came unto us, That the seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea ; it was published in the ears of the brethren, which caused tears to break forth with fulness of joy ; so that presently for these places some prepared themselves, who were Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh, who the next day were put safely ashore into the Dutch plantation, called New Amsterdam.* We came, and it being the First-day of the week several came aboard to us, and we began our work. I was caused to go to the Governor, and Robert Hodgson with me—he was moderate both in words and actions.

Robert and I had several days before seen in a vision the vessel in great danger ; the day following this, it was fulfilled, there

* Upon the acquisition of New Netherlands, the English changed the name of New Amsterdam to New York, in honour of the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

being a passage betwixt two lands, which is called by the name of Hell-gate; we lay very conveniently for a pilot, and into that place we came, and into it were forced, and over it were carried, which I never heard of any before that were; [there were] rocks many on both sides, so that I believe one yard's length would have endangered loss of both vessel and goods. Also there was a shoal of fish which pursued our vessel, and followed her strangely, and along close by our rudder; and in our meeting it was shewn me, these fish are to thee a figure. Thus doth the prayers of the churches proceed to the Lord for thee and the rest. Surely in our meeting did the thing run through me as oil, and bid me much rejoice.



Endorsed by George Fox,
"R. Fowler's Voyage, 1657."

It has been already stated, that of the eleven Friends who crossed the Atlantic in the "Woodhouse," five, viz. Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh, landed at New Amsterdam on the 1st of the Sixth Month, 1657, being two months from the time of their leaving London.

The rest of this little band of gospel labourers left New Amsterdam in Robert Fowler's vessel on the 3rd of the Sixth Month, and passing through Long Island Sound, reached Rhode Island in safety. Whilst here, John Copeland addressed the following letter to his parents in England:—

Rhode Island, the 12th of the Sixth Month, 1657.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER,

My love salutes you and all the faithful in Christ Jesus, who is my joy, and in whom I do rejoice at present. This is to let you all know that I am at Rhode Island and in health, where we are received with much joy of heart; but now I and Christopher Holder are going to Martha's Vineyard, in obedience to the will of our God, whose will is our joy.

Humphrey Norton is at present at Rhode Island ; Mary Clark waiting to go towards Boston ; William Brend is towards Providence. The Lord God of Hosts is with us, the shout of a King is amongst us, the people fear our God, for his goodness is large and great, and reaches to the ends of the earth ; his power has led us all along, and I have seen his glory, and am overcome with his love. Take no thought for me, for my trust is in the Lord ; only be valiant for the truth upon earth. The Lord's power hath overshadowed me, and man I do not fear ; for my trust is in the Lord, who is become our shield and buckler, and exceeding great reward.

The enclosed is the voyage as Robert Fowler did give it, which you may read as you can. Salute me dearly to my dear friends, with whom my life is, and the Lord's power overshadow you ; so may you be preserved to his glory. Amen, amen. Stand fast in the Lord. We are about to sail to the Vineyard, and having this opportunity, I was free to let you know, by the Barbadoes, how we are. Farewell. I am your servant for the Lord's sake,

JOHN COPELAND.

CHAPTER V.

W. Robinson leaves Rhode Island for Maryland and Virginia—Mary Clark goes to Boston—Is imprisoned for three months, and whipped—John Copeland and Christopher Holder visit Martha's Vineyard—Are banished from that island and go to Sandwich—Several are convinced by their ministry—They are arrested, sent to Plymouth, and finally banished that colony—Some remarks on Friends preaching in steeple-houses—The colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth ineffectually endeavour to influence the authorities of Rhode Island to banish Friends—J. Copeland and C. Holder leave Rhode-Island for Massachusetts—Several are convinced by their preaching at Salem—They are arrested and sent prisoners to Boston—are whipped—Several of the colonists who had become Friends are imprisoned—Richard Doudney travels in Rhode Island and Massachusetts—at Boston he is imprisoned and whipped—J. Copeland, C. Holder, and R. Doudney, give forth a declaration of their Christian faith—The rulers at Boston enact a more severe law against Friends—The prisoners there are cruelly scourged—Their release—Humphrey Norton's travels and sufferings in New England—W. Brend and J. Copeland travel in Massachusetts and Connecticut—The authorities at Plymouth pass a law against Friends.

SEVERAL gospel ministers having now landed in New England, it will be interesting to trace the directions they severally took, in the prosecution of their religious labours. William Robinson appears to have been engaged for some time within the limits of Rhode Island; he then travelled southward as far as Maryland and Virginia; and, after an absence of two years, returned to New England. We shall hereafter have to speak of his engagements in this part of America.

Mary Clark, to whom John Copeland refers in his letter, as being at Rhode Island, "waiting to go towards Boston," arrived at that town in the latter part of the Sixth Month. The magistrates having soon been informed of the arrival of Mary Clark, immediately issued a warrant for her arrest, and on committing

her to prison ordered her to be severely whipped. This punishment was executed with great barbarity, twenty strokes with a heavy three-corded whip, "laid on with fury," being inflicted upon her. For three months she was detained a prisoner in Boston gaol, during which time she suffered much from cold.

John Copeland and Christopher Holder, very early after landing on Rhode Island, felt it required of them to visit the island of Martha's Vineyard, which lay a few leagues from the main land, where they landed on the 16th of the Sixth Month. The principal portion of its inhabitants at this period consisted of Indians of the Algonquin race, among whom the Puritans had established a mission for their conversion to Christianity. At the head of this was the son of the governor of the island. The class to whom the religious labours of the two Friends were more immediately directed, being the English settlers of the island, they thought it right to attend their place of worship. Here, after waiting quietly until Mayhew, the priest, had concluded, one of them spoke a few words to the company. The liberty thus taken gave great offence, and the Friends were forthwith "thrust out of doors," by the constable. This rough treatment did not discourage them from making another attempt, and in the afternoon they again assembled with the congregation. On this occasion, "they had some dispute" on doctrinal points, and were allowed quietly to withdraw. The governor, however, participating in the prejudices against Friends, determined to rid Martha's Vineyard of them; and accordingly, on the following morning, taking a constable with him, he called on the two strangers, and ordered them forthwith to leave the island. But John Copeland and Christopher Holder, who came as they believed in obedience to a divine call, and not in their own will, replied, that "in the will of God they stood as He made way." "It is the will of God," rejoined the governor, "that you should go to-day;" and having hired an Indian to convey them to the mainland, ordered the Friends to pay for the passage themselves. But not being willing to facilitate their own banishment, and not feeling that it was their divine Master's will for them to leave the island, they declined to go, or to pay the Indian who was hired to take them.

The refusal was unexpected to the governor, and after directing the constable forcibly to obtain the requisite sum from the strangers, he gave peremptory orders to the natives to take them away in their canoes. The Algonquins, however, not being in any great haste to execute the bidding of the governor contrary to the will of the Friends, and at a time too when the weather was stormy, entertained them for three days with marked kindness and hospitality. A change in the weather then taking place, and the banished ones feeling that it was no longer required of them to stay on the island, the Indians, at their own request, prepared to take them across. Before leaving the island, the Friends offered to remunerate the natives for their kindness, but these poor people, from the generous impulses of their hearts, acting more in unison with the spirit of Christianity than those who were wont to be their teachers, declined to receive any reward; "You are strangers," they replied, "and Jehovah hath taught us to love strangers."* Such simple and feeling language from the lips of a North American Indian, was a striking rebuke to the bigotry and intolerance which marked the conduct of their highly professing teachers.

John Copeland and Christopher Holder landed on the coast of Massachusetts on the 20th of the Sixth Month, 1657, and proceeded to the town of Sandwich. Their arrival at this place was hailed with feelings of satisfaction by many who were sincere seekers after heavenly riches, but who had long been burthened with a lifeless ministry and dead forms in religion. To these, in the authority and life of the gospel, the two Friends were enabled to offer the word of consolation and encouragement. But the town of Sandwich had its advocates of religious intolerance, and no small commotion ensued, when it was generally known that two English Quakers had arrived amongst them. "Great was the stir and noise of the tumultuous town," they remark, "yea, all in an uproar, hearing that we, who were called by such a name as Quakers, were come into those parts. A great fire was kindled, and the hearts of many did burn within them, so that in the heat thereof some said one thing, and some another; but the most part knew not what was the matter."†

* Norton's Ensign, p. 22.

† Ibid. p. 22.

The stay of John Copeland and Christopher Holder at Sandwich was but short, and from thence they proceeded to Plymouth. Here, as at Sandwich, their presence seems to have caused much consternation, especially among the rulers and ecclesiastics of the place. Whilst "at the ordinary there," some who desired to ascertain the fact that Quaker ministers had really arrived, came and had a "long dispute" with them; and, finding that they were of the heretical sect, told them that they could not be permitted to remain within the limits of that colony. The Friends, however, feeling that it was required of them to return to Sandwich, frankly told the magistrates that they could not leave the colony, until they had again visited that town. They returned that night unmolested to their lodgings, but on the following morning they were arrested and taken before the magistrates. On their examination many questions were put to them, but as there was no ground for their committal to prison, they were discharged, with express orders from the bench, "to be gone out of their colony." On the following morning they left for Sandwich, but had not proceeded far before they were overtaken and arrested by a constable, who, having orders to prevent their travelling in that direction, conveyed them six miles towards Rhode Island, and then left them. This interruption of their course did not, however, deter them from attempting to reach Sandwich. The priests there, alarmed at the return of the Friends, prevailed on the local magistracy, after a few days, to have them arrested and taken back to Plymouth, where they were again examined in the presence of the governor. No infraction of the law was proved against them, they were nevertheless "required to depart" from the colony. Feeling that the service required of them in that part of New England was not accomplished, they intimated to the governor that they could not accede to his request, and that it was their intention to return to Sandwich. It appears that their gospel ministry had been instrumental in convincing many at this place of the principles of Friends, a circumstance which increased the alarm of the priests, who now exerted their utmost influence to procure their banishment. The urgent appeal was effective, and the governor to satisfy them, issued a warrant for

the arrest of the Friends, "as extravagant persons and vagabonds," to be brought before him at Plymouth. A copy of the warrant under which they were thus deprived of their liberty being asked for and refused, William Newland, at whose house the meetings of the newly convinced had been held, insisted that it was illegal thus to commit the strangers without acceding to their demand. A severe rebuke, and a fine of ten shillings, was the result of his exertions on behalf of the prisoners. The prisoners again arraigned before the court at Plymouth, were told by the magistrates, who were urged on by the priests, that there was a law forbidding them to remain in that jurisdiction. The Friends replied, that they could not promise to leave. The following warrant for their expulsion was then issued, accompanied with a threat from the bench, that if they returned they should be whipped as vagabonds :

" TO THE UNDER-MARSHAL OF THE JURISDICTION OF PLYMOUTH,

" Whereas, there hath been two extravagant persons, professing themselves to be Quakers, at the town of Plymouth, who, according to order, may not be permitted to abide within the liberty of this jurisdiction. These are therefore in the name of his highness, the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to will and command you forthwith, on receipt hereof, to convey the said persons, viz. Christopher Holder and John Copeland, unto the utmost bounds of our jurisdiction. Whereof fail not at your peril."*

" Dated at Plymouth, the 31st of August, 1657.

The under-marshal, in fulfilment of his charge, conveyed them fifty miles in the direction of Rhode Island, and then set them at liberty ; and the Friends soon reached that asylum for the persecuted.

In the course of this history, and especially in the New England division of it, several instances of Friends having entered the public places of worship will be met with. One has already

* Norton's Ensign, p. 24.

been mentioned in the foregoing account of the religious services of C. Holder and J. Copeland. Much censure has been undeservedly cast upon our early Friends, by some modern writers, for these acts of devotedness ; we say undeservedly, because the practice of individuals addressing the congregation after the minister had concluded his sermon, was not unfrequent during the Commonwealth, nor at all peculiar to Friends. The subject is one of much interest, as affecting the character of many of the prominent members of the Society, during its rise, both in this country and America ; and, in the hope that they may tend to remove the censure which has been unjustly entertained in this respect, the following remarks are offered.

It is generally admitted, that the Christian church in apostolic days recognised no one individual as the appointed minister of their religious congregations, but that all present, who felt a divine call to address the assembly, were at liberty to do so. “ Ye may all prophesy,” said Paul to the Corinthian church, “ one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted ;” *—“ wherefore brethren,” he continues, “ covet to prophesy.” The original practice of the Christian church in this respect, agreed with the usages of the Jewish Synagogues, in which it was the custom for persons holding no office or appointment, to address the assembly. Thus we find, that Paul and Barnabas preached to the Jews in their synagogue at Salamis,† and that Paul, both at Corinth and Ephesus, “ entered into the synagogue and reasoned with them.”‡ As the Christian church departed from its primitive purity and simplicity, this individual liberty was discontinued, but at what particular period of its history the restriction took place, it is not easy to ascertain. Several allusions are made to these administrations in the writings of the Fathers of the first century, and we also find them noticed during the latter part of the second century. Justin Martyr in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, A.D. 133, mentions that the gifts of prophecy were exercised both by men and women ; they are also referred to by Ireneus, bishop of Lyons, A.D. 178. “ We hear many brethren in the church,”

* 1 Cor. xiv. 31.

† Acts xiii. 5.

‡ Acts xviii. 4-19.

he remarks, who are endued with prophetic gifts ; who speak by the Spirit in all kinds of languages ; who bring to light the secrets of men for good purposes, and who declare divine mysteries.”*

During the long night of apostacy which followed, the freedom of gospel ministry was superseded by human ordination and intervention, and it does not appear that Luther and his reforming contemporaries, were enlightened on this manifest departure from Christian principle. Amongst the dissenting bodies, however, that arose soon after the Reformation, the liberty for any individual member of the church who felt himself divinely called to address the congregation, was again admitted. The Baptist and Independent churches of Great Britain, and also the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, recognised the primitive example. In a work, entitled “ The True Constitution of a particular visible church,” published in 1642, by John Cotton, Puritan pastor of Boston, in Massachusetts, he thus describes the degree of liberty then allowed :—“ Where there be more prophets as pastors and teachers, they may prophesy two or three, and if the time permit, the elders may call any other of the brethren, whether of the same church, or any, to speak a word of exhortation to the people, and for the better edifying of a man’s self, or others, it may be lawful for any (young or old,) save only for women, to ask questions at the mouth of the prophets.” The Baptists in 1643, thus express themselves on the subject: “ Although it is incumbent on the pastors and teachers of the churches to be instant in preaching the word, by way of office ; yet the work of preaching the word is not so peculiarly confined to them, but that others also gifted and fitted by the Holy Ghost for it, and approved, being by lawful ways and means, in the providence of God called thereto, may publickly, ordinarily, and constantly perform it, so that they give themselves up thereto.”† “ The English Independents,” remarks Robert Barclay, “ also go so far as to affirm, that any gifted brother, as they call them, if he find himself qualified

* Modern translation from Adv. Hæres, lib. v. cap. 6.

† A declaration of the faith and order of the (Baptists) congregational churches in England. Ed. 1658.

thereto, may instruct, exhort, and preach in the church.”* During the civil wars in the time of Charles I., it was no uncommon practice for the laity, and even for soldiers, to preach in the public places of worship, and with the sanction of the civil power. Sir John Cheke, when High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, preached at the University at Oxford dressed in his sheriff's robe and gold chain of office. The rigid Presbyterians of Scotland, however, never admitted the liberty; and during Cromwell's victorious campaign in that country in 1650, the Scotch ministers expressed their dissatisfaction with him for “opening the pulpit doors to all intruders;” to which he returned this memorable reply; “We look on ministers as helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people. I appeal to their consciences, whether any, denying their doctrines or dissenting from them, will not incur the censure of a sectary. And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? Where do you find in Scripture that preaching is exclusively your functions? Though an approbation from men has order in it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than that, hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high, may give his gifts to whom he pleases, and if those gifts be the seal of missions, are not you envious, though Eldad and Medad prophesy? You know who has bid us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy; which the apostle explains to be, a speaking to instruction, edification, and comfort, which the instructed, edified, and comforted, can best tell the energy and effect of.

“Now if this be evidence, take heed you envy not for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua, when he envied for his sake. Indeed you err through mistake of the Scriptures. Approbation is an act of convenience, in respect of order, not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the gospel. Your pretended fear, lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country, lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition

† Barclay's Apology, Prop. X. § XIII.

he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, then judge." And in answer to the governor's complaint, that men of secular employments had usurped the office of ministry, to the scandal of the reformed churches, he queries, "Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Doth it scandalize the reformed churches, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the covenant? Away with the covenant if it be so. I thought the covenant and these men would have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving, nor the kirk you mention, the spouse of Christ."*

It was in the time of the Commonwealth that the Society of Friends arose in England, a time not only of great excitement in the religious world, but also of great unsettlement in the State. The Royalists had been subdued by the Parliamentarians, and Puritanism was in the ascendant. The Puritans, however, were far from harmonious in their views on politics, and they differed still more widely in matters of religion. The Presbyterians and Independents formed the leading parties of the combination, and whilst with common consent they abolished Episcopacy, there was a rivalry between them as to the ecclesiastical government which should be its substitute. The Presbyterians made great efforts for the recognition of their form; this, however, was strenuously and successfully opposed by the Independents. The intention of many of the leaders in parliament was to admit of no established church, but leave every one to embrace whatever sect was most congenial to them; and to support such ministers as met their approval. In 1653, the parliament actually took into consideration the abolition of the clerical functions as savouring of popery, and the taking away of tithes, which many of the members called a relic of Judaism. The Presbyterians were decidedly opposed to these views; but so strong was the feeling against the application of tithes for the clergy, that in a house of one hundred and eleven members, forty-three voted against such an appropriation, although Cromwell, in this instance, had thrown the weight of his influence on the Presbyterian side.† On the abolition of

* Cromwell's Letters and Speeches by Thomas Carlyle, vol. i. p. 61.

† Burton's Diary, vol. i. p. 3.

Episcopacy, the Liturgy was superseded in 1645, by another form of worship, called, the "Directory," and which continued in use until the restoration of the monarchy. The Directory was not an absolute form of devotion, but contained only some general directions to the ministers as to public prayer and preaching, and other parts of their functions, leaving them a discretionary power to fill up the vacant time. Whilst there was this general regulation as respected the form of worship, the pulpits were occupied variously by all kinds of professors. "Independent and Presbyterian priests, and some Baptist priests," observes George Fox in 1655, "had got into the steeple-houses,"* and who, now the Episcopalians were driven out, were said to hunt after a benefice as "crows do after a rotten sheep."†

Enlightened as were our early Friends on the subject of ministry and worship, they viewed with feelings of sorrow the routine of lifeless forms and ceremonies which prevailed among the various classes of the religious community;—a strong and a deep conviction rested on their minds, that the prevailing religious systems were essentially opposed to the pure and spiritual religion of Christ. They were not less fully persuaded of this, nor, it may be added, on less substantial grounds, than John Huss or Martin Luther was of the anti-christian character of the Romish church. They believed themselves called upon to testify, "in the name of the Lord," against a system which contained so woful an admixture of human invention.

Our early predecessors, when they first went forth to preach among their fellow-men, the spiritual and primitive doctrines of the gospel, frequently embraced the liberty granted in the days of the Commonwealth, of addressing the congregations in steeple-houses. As early as 1648, George Fox preached in these places. "I was moved," he observes at this date, "to go to several courts and steeple-houses at Mansfield, and other places, to warn them to leave off oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit to the Lord, and do justly."‡ In the two succeeding years he also mentions preaching in steeple-houses. In 1651, he records several

* G. Fox's Journal, vol. i. p. 304. † Ibid. p. 305. ‡ Ibid. p. 105.

instances of this service. At Beverley, he writes, "I went up to the steeple-house where was a man preaching. When he had done, I was moved to speak to him, and to the people, in the mighty power of God, and turned them to their teacher, Christ Jesus. In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house, about two miles off. When the priest had done I was moved to speak to him, and to the people very largely. The people were very loving, and would have had me come again on a week-day, and preach among them."* At Malton the priest wished him to go into the pulpit, but having an objection to pulpits, he declined, and addressed the congregation from a less conspicuous place, and "having had a large opportunity among them, he departed in peace." At Pickering soon after, he had a similar opportunity.

George Fox, when he first visited Swarthmore, "went to Ulverstone steeple-house on a lecture or fast-day; but he came not in," says Margaret Fell, "till the people were gathered: I, and my children, had been a long time there before. And when they were singing before the sermon, he came in; and when they had done singing, he stood up upon a seat or form, and desired that he might have liberty to speak; and he that was in the pulpit said, he might."† From Ulverstone he went to Aldenham and Ramside steeple-houses, where he also addressed the congregations. At the latter place, the priest "having acquainted" the people of G. Fox's visit, a large number attended. He also mentions preaching in several other steeple-houses during the same year.

In 1654, when Friends first visited London, they not unfrequently availed themselves of these opportunities. "Last First-day but one," observes E. Burroughs in 1654, "I was at a steeple-house in the forenoon, and had free liberty to speak what I was free, and passed away to [our] meeting in the afternoon."‡ About the same date F. Howgill writes, "I went to E. B., who was gone to Lombard street to a public steeple-house, where most of the high notionists in the city come, and so I came to him

* G. Fox's Journal, vol. i. p. 154.

† Testimony of M. Fox concerning G. Fox in G. Fox's Journal.

‡ Letter to Margaret Fell, Caton MSS.

before the priest had done, and after he ceased, Edward stood up upon a seat and spoke with a loud voice, and in much power, and all was still and quiet ; and he spoke about one hour, and the people were very calm ; and afterwards, I spoke, and we cleared our consciences and passed away in peace."* In the following year when Richard Hubberthorne visited the eastern counties, he occasionally preached in steeple-houses. On one occasion he says, that he " staid all day in the steeple-house with the people ;" and on " the same day," he remarks, " James Parnell was at another steeple-house, where the priest suffered him to speak."† It is also notorious, that John Bunyan, who was a Baptist, held disputations with Friends in Bedford steeple-house.

The circumstance of our early Friends entering the public places of worship in the times of the Commonwealth, is one which has been much misunderstood, and greatly misrepresented. For these acts of dedication they have been calumniated as disturbers of religious congregations, and as outraging the peace and order of the churches. This estimate doubtless has been formed with reference to usages of more modern date ; but to decide upon the conduct of Friends in this particular, from a consideration of present circumstances, would be exceedingly erroneous. In preaching in the national places of worship, they did but avail themselves of a common liberty, in a period of extraordinary excitement on religious things. There were numerous other religious meetings held in those times, but into none of these did Friends obtrude themselves. Some, probably, will argue, that the fact of their being so severely punished for persisting in this practice, may be adduced in support of its irregularity ; but it may be answered, that the preaching of Friends almost everywhere at that time, whether in steeple-houses or private houses, or in-doors or out of doors, equally called down the rigour of ecclesiastical vengeance. It was not, in fact, because Friends preached in these places so much as for what they preached, that they suffered. When George Fox was committed to Derby prison in 1650, after preaching in the steeple-house at " a great lecture," the mittimus states, that his offence was for " uttering and broaching of

* Letter to Margaret Fell, Caton MSS.

† Ibid.

divers blasphemous opinions." In 1659, Gilbert Latey went to Dunstan's steeple-house in the West, where the noted Dr. Manton preached. At the conclusion of the sermon Gilbert Latey addressed the assembly relative to some errors in Manton's sermon, for which he was seized by a constable and taken before a magistrate, who, however, gave G. Latey leave to speak for himself. The statement he made satisfied the justice, and he replied, that he had heard the people called Quakers were a sort of mad, whimsical folks; "but," said he, "for this man, he talks very rationally, and I think for my part, you should not have brought him before me."* To which the constable replied, "Sir, I think so too." This occurred eleven years after G. Fox first visited a steeple-house, and during that time Friends had suffered very much for speaking in steeple-houses, yet now a magistrate declares, that speaking rationally after the preacher had finished in a steeple-house, is not an offence for which a man ought to be brought before him. But the ministry of Friends struck at the very foundation of all hierarchical systems, and the discovery of this circumstance prompted the priests to call in the aid of the civil power to suppress the promulgation of views so opposed to ecclesiastical domination.

The arrival of so many ministers in New England during the summer of 1657, and more particularly the visits of Mary Clark to Boston, and of Christopher Holder and John Copeland to Sandwich and Plymouth, together with the marked success which attended their labours in the propagation of their principles, caused no small degree of alarm and excitement among those who were striving for the entire ascendancy of Puritan orthodoxy in that country. The safety and freedom which Rhode Island afforded to the persecuted and banished of every country, including the poor banished and hunted Friends, proved very annoying to the rulers of church and state in Massachusetts. In their estimation it was an evil of such magnitude, and so fraught with danger to the true interest of that religion for which they and their forefathers had suffered, as to require counteracting

* Life of Gilbert Latey.

measures of a very decided character. The Commissioners of the United Colonies, lending a ready ear to the suggestions of intolerance, determined to exert their power and influence to effect the desired object, and, if possible, to compel the authorities of Rhode Island to unite with the other colonies of New England, in expelling Quakers from their territory. In the early part of the Seventh Month, 1657, a general meeting of this body took place at Boston, at which, in pursuance of their purpose, the following minute and letter were prepared for the governor of Rhode Island.

"*Sept. 12th, 1657.* The Commissioners, being informed that divers Quakers are arrived this summer at Rhode Island, and entertained there, which may prove dangerous to the colonies, thought meet to manifest their minds to the governor there, as followeth :—

"GENTLEMEN,—We suppose you have understood that the last year a company of Quakers arrived at Boston, upon no other account than to disperse their pernicious opinions, had they not been prevented by the prudent care of the government, who by that experience they had of them, being sensible of the danger that might befall the Christian religion here professed, by suffering such to be received or continued in the country, presented the same unto the Commissioners at their meeting at Plymouth ; who, upon that occasion, commended it to the general courts of the United Colonies, that all Quakers, Ranters, and such notorious heretics, might be prohibited coming among us ; and that if such should arise from amongst ourselves, speedy care might be taken to remove them ; (and as we are informed) the several jurisdictions have made provision accordingly ; but it is by experience found that means will fall short without further care by reason of your admission and receiving of such, from whence they may have opportunity to creep in amongst us, or means to infuse and spread their accursed tenets to the great trouble of the colonies, if not to the ———— professed in them ; notwithstanding any care that hath been hitherto taken to prevent the same ; whereof we cannot but be very sensible and think no care too great to preserve us from such a pest, the contagion whereof

(if received) within your colony, were dangerous to be diffused to the others by means of the intercourse, especially to the places of trade amongst us ; which we desire may be with safety continued between us ; we therefore make it our request, that you as the rest of the colonies, take such order herein that your neighbours may be freed from that danger. That you remove these Quakers that have been received, and for the future prohibit their coming amongst you ; whereunto the rule of charity to yourselves and us (we conceive), doth oblige you ; wherein if you should we hope you will not be wanting ; yet we could not but signify this our desire ; and further declare, that we apprehend that it will be our duty seriously to consider, what provision God may call us to make to prevent the aforesaid mischief ; and for our further guidance and direction herein, we desire you to impart your mind and resolution to the General Court of Massachusetts, which assembleth the 14th of October next. We have not further to trouble you at present, but to assure you we desire to continue your loving friends and neighbours, the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

" Boston, September 12th, 1657."

The letter of the Commissioners, being received by the governor of Rhode Island, was presented by him to the " Court of Trials," held at Providence, the 13th of the Eighth Month following. It was the desire of that body to maintain friendly relations with all the settlements of New England ; but, acting in unison with the law of their colony, " that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine,"* they resolved that no settler or stranger within the limits of their jurisdiction, should be persecuted for whatever opinions in religion he might either hold or teach. The " Court of Trials," however, desiring to avoid any immediate collision with their neighbours, thought it best to return a cautious answer to the Commissioners, informing them that the subject would obtain further consideration at their own general assembly, which was to meet early in the following year. The reply, although it speaks of the doctrines of Friends as tend-

* Enactment of 1641.

ing to the "very absolute cutting down and overturning relations and civil government among men, if generally received," which had reference only to their testimony against war, evidently admitted that, although several had visited the colony, and some had received the doctrines they preached, yet the civil authorities had no complaint to prefer against them.* The general assembly of Rhode Island adverted to, met in the First Month, 1658. The communication of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, being then brought under their consideration, resulted in the preparation of the following answer:—

*"From the General Assembly to the Commissioners of the
United Colonies.*

"HONOURED GENTLEMEN,—There hath been presented to our view, by our honoured president, a letter bearing date September 25th last, subscribed by the honoured gentlemen, commissioners of the united colonies, concerning a company of people, (lately arrived in these parts of the world,) commonly known by the name of Quakers; who are generally conceived pernicious, either intentionally, or at least-wise in effect, even to the corrupting of good manners, and disturbing the common peace, and societies, of the places where they arise or resort unto, &c.

"Now, whereas freedom of different consciences, to be protected from enforcements, was the principal ground of our charter, both with respect to our humble suit for it, as also the true intent of the honourable and renowned Parliament of England, in granting the same unto us; which freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world; therefore, we shall, for the preservation of our civil peace and order, the more seriously take notice that those people, and any other that are here, or shall come among us, be impartially required, and to our utmost constrained, to perform all duties requisite towards the maintaining the dignity of his highness, and the government of that most renowned Commonwealth of England, in this colony; which is most happily included under the same

* See answer in Appendix to vol. i. of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts.

dominions, and we so graciously taken into protection thereof. And in case they the said people, called Quakers, which are here, or shall arise, or come among us, do refuse to submit to the doing all duties aforesaid, as training, watching, and such other engagements as are upon members of civil societies, for the preservation of the same in justice and peace ; then we determine, yea, and we resolve (however) to take and make use of the first opportunity to inform our agent residing in England, that he may humbly present the matter (as touching the considerations premised, concerning the aforesaid people called Quakers,) unto the supreme authority of England, humbly craving their advice and order, how to carry ourselves in any further respect towards those people—that therewithal there may be no damage, or infringement of that chief principle in our charter concerning freedom of conscience. And we also are so much the more encouraged to make our addresses unto the Lord Protector, for his highness and government aforesaid, for that we understand there are, or have been, many of the aforesaid people suffered to live in England ; yea, even in the heart of the nation. And thus with our truly thankful acknowledgments of the honourable care of the honoured gentlemen, Commissioners of the United Colonies, for the peace and welfare of the whole country, as is expressed in their most friendly letter, we shall at present take leave and rest. Yours, most affectionately, desirous of your honours and welfare

“ JOHN SANDFORD, *Clerk of the Assembly.*

“ *From the General Assembly of the Colony of
Providence Plantation,*

“ To the much honoured John Endicott, Governor of Massachusetts. To be also imparted to the honoured Commissioners of the United Colonies at their next meeting ; these.”

The reply of the general assembly of Rhode Island was just such as might have been expected from men enlightened on the subject of religious freedom ; and the special reference which they make “ to the freedom of different consciences,” as being

the principal ground of their charter, manifests their desire to impress on the minds of the rulers of Massachusetts, how greatly they prized that privilege. The absence of any thing like a response to the feelings which dictated the message from Massachusetts, and the probable effect of their answer in inducing a hostile feeling towards them, led them doubtless to refer in the manner they did to their being "graciously taken into protection" by England. It is evident that they wished to convey the idea, that in the event of compulsory measures being resorted to, the assistance of the Commonwealth would be sought; and the parallel which they draw between their own position and that of the mother country, by referring to the circumstance of Friends "being suffered to live in England—in the very heart of the nation," was significant of their hope, that in case of need, that assistance would not be sought in vain.

The general assembly of Rhode Island, feeling the peculiarity of their position in extending toleration to Quakers within their borders, thought it advisable to put their representative in England in possession of the facts of the case. The following extract from a letter addressed to him on the subject, still further shows the manner in which they regarded the communication of the Commissioners:—

"The last year we had laden you with much employment, which we were then put upon, by reason of some too refractory among ourselves; wherein we appealed unto you for your advice, for the more public manifestation of it with respect to our superiors. But our intelligence it seems fell short, in the great loss of the ship, which is conceived here to be cast away. We have now a new occasion, given by an old spirit, because of a sort of people, called by the name of Quakers, who are come amongst us, and have raised up divers, who seem at present to be of their spirit, wherewith the colonies about us seem to be offended with us, because the said people have their liberty amongst us, as entertained into our houses, or into our assemblies. And for the present, *we have no just cause* to charge them with the breach of the civil peace; only they are constantly going forth among them about us, and vex and trouble them in point of their religion and

spiritual state, though they return with many a foul scar on their bodies for the same. And the offence our neighbours take against us is, because we take not some course against the said people, either to expel them from among us, or take such courses against them as themselves do, who are in fear lest their religion should be corrupted by them. Concerning which displeasure that they seem to take; it was expressed to us in a solemn letter, written by the Commissioners of the United Colonies at their sitting, as though they would bring us in to act according to their scantling, or else take some course to do us greater displeasure. A copy of which letter we have herewith sent unto you, wherein you may perceive how they express themselves. As also we have herewith sent our present answer unto them, to give you what light we may in this matter. There is one clause in their letter, which plainly implies a threat, though covertly expressed.

“ Sir, this is our earnest and present request unto you in this matter, as you may perceive in our answer to the United Colonies, that we fly, as to our refuge in all civil respects, to his highness and honourable council, as not being subject to any others in matters of our civil state; so may it please you to have an eye and ear open, in case our adversaries should seek to undermine us in our privileges granted unto us, and to plead our case in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men’s consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted and violated, which our neighbours about us do frequently practice, whereof many of us have large experience, and do judge it to be no less than a point of absolute cruelty.”

Returning to Christopher Holder and John Copeland, whom we left in Rhode Island after their expulsion from Plymouth, we find them, about the middle of the Seventh Month, 1657, passing northwards to Salem, within the settlement of Massachusetts. In that vicinity they held meetings, and made converts to the doctrines they preached. Referring afterwards to this visit they thus speak: “ Having obtained mercy from God, and being baptized into his covenant Christ Jesus, [we] preached freely unto them the things we had seen and heard, and our hands had

handled, which as an engrafted word took place in them, such as never can be rooted out, so that our hearers in a short time became our fellow-sufferers.”*

On First-day, the 21st of Seventh Month, they went to the Puritan place of worship at Salem ; and, after the priest had concluded, Christopher Holder felt a religious call to address the assembly. Here, however, as in Martha's Vineyard, he was not allowed to proceed, one of the Commissioners, “with much fury” seized him, and, “haling him back by the hair of his head,”† violently thrust a glove and handkerchief into his mouth. Samuel Shattock, who afterwards became convinced, on witnessing the furious conduct of the Commissioner, and fearful lest the Friend might be choked, interfered, and, taking the hand of the incensed ruler, drew it away. Shattock, though a man of “good reputation,”‡ had to suffer severely for thus evincing his kindness to the stranger ; being sent the next day, as a prisoner with the two Friends to Boston. The course taken by the authorities of Boston with the strangers, was to examine them separately, in order “to find them in contradictions ;” and for this purpose, Bellingham, and the secretary, accompanied by “the Elder and Deacon” of the place, visited the prisoners. “But,” remark the Friends, “we abiding in the truth, which is but one, spake one thing, so that they had no advantage against us, neither could take hold of any thing we had spoken.” The inquisitors, however, not being willing to acknowledge that their labour was altogether lost, declared that their answers “were delusive, and that the devil had taught them a deal of subtilty.”§

A few hours after this interview, Christopher Holder and John Copeland were ushered into the presence of the Governor and Commissioners ; and, after undergoing a frivolous examination, were sentenced, under “the law against Quakers,” to receive thirty lashes. The brutal manner in which the sentence was carried out, was in accordance with the spirit that prompted the rulers to pass the cruel law. A three-corded knotted whip was used on the occasion ; and the executioner, to make more sure of his

* Norton's Ensign, p. 60.

† New England Judged, p. 40.

‡ New England Judged, 41.

§ Norton's Ensign, p. 61.

blows, "measured his ground," and then "fetched his strokes with all his might."* Thirty strokes thus inflicted, as will be readily imagined, left the sufferers miserably torn and lacerated ; and in this state they were conveyed to their prison cell. Here, without any bedding, or even straw to lie on, the inhuman gaoler kept them for three days without food or drink ; and in this dismal abode, often exposed to damp and cold, were these faithful men confined for the space of nine weeks. We may wonder that under such aggravated cruelties, their lives were spared, but He, for whose holy cause they thus suffered, was near to support and console them. His ancient promise was fulfilled in their experience, and they rejoiced in the comforting presence of his living power.

Samuel Shattock, who was committed to prison on the charge of being " a friend to the Quakers,"† was released on his giving a bond in the sum of twenty pounds, to answer the charge at the ensuing court, " and not to assemble with any of the people called Quakers at their meetings."‡ Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, " an aged and grave couple"§ of Salem, who had entertained the two gospel messengers, were also arrested on a similar charge. Lawrence, being a member of the Puritan church, was released to receive his punishment in the shape of church censure. Cassandra, who had long dissented from the " Pilgrim Fathers," in both doctrine and worship, and who was not therefore amenable to their discipline, was obliged to expiate her offence by an imprisonment of seven weeks in Boston gaol.

Richard Doudney, who left the " Woodhouse " at New Amsterdam, was engaged for several weeks in that vicinity. He then directed his course towards Rhode Island, and, again proceeding northwards, entered Massachusetts. In the early part of the Ninth Month he reached Dedham, where, on being discovered by his speech to be a Friend, he was apprehended, and forthwith carried before the authorities at Boston. In less than three hours after he had entered this place, he was subjected to a cruel

* New England Judged, p. 40.

† Ibid, p. 41.

‡ Ibid, p. 41.

§ Ibid, p. 42.

whipping of thirty lashes, and was then sent to share the lot of his friends in Boston gaol.

It will be readily supposed that the course pursued by the priests and ruling powers of Massachusetts towards Friends, must have raised in the minds of many of the honest-hearted settlers no inconsiderable degree of prejudice against them. The distorted views of Quaker tenets, which were industriously circulated throughout New England, in justification of the cruelties practised, could scarcely fail to produce such a result. In the American colonies, as well as in England, calumny and misrepresentation were too generally favourite weapons of the enemies of the new Society. From a very early date it had been the practice of Friends, in order to correct the public mind in reference to their principles, to put forth declarations of their christian faith, and this course Christopher Holder and John Copeland felt it right to adopt whilst imprisoned at Boston. The document they issued, an imperfect copy of which has been preserved, is rendered the more interesting, as being, it is believed, the first written exposition of the doctrinal views of the Society,* and containing, as it does, clear evidence of the soundness of the views of our early Friends, is additionally valuable. Richard Doudney, on joining his imprisoned friends, also attached his signature to the declaration. There is but little doubt that this document is the "paper of exhortation" † referred to by the historian Sewel; it is as follows:

A DECLARATION OF FAITH, AND AN EXHORTATION TO OBEDIENCE
THERETO, ISSUED BY CHRISTOPHER HOLDER, JOHN COPELAND
AND RICHARD DOUDNEY, WHILE IN PRISON AT BOSTON IN
NEW ENGLAND, 1657.

"Whereas it is reported by them that have not a bridle to their tongues, that we, who are by the world called Quakers, are blasphemers, heretics, and deceivers; and that we do deny the

* The first Declaration or Confession of Faith published in England, of which any record exists, appears to have been the one put forth by Richard Farnsworth, in 1658.—*Vide*, Evan's "Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends," p. xiv.

† Sewel's History, p. 172.

scriptures, and the truth therein contained : therefore, we, who are here in prison, shall in few words, in truth and plainness, declare unto all people that may see this, the ground of our religion, and the faith that we contend for, and the cause wherefore we suffer.

“ Therefore, when you read our words, let the meek spirit bear rule, and weigh them in the equal balance, and stand out of prejudice, in the light that judgeth all things, and measureth and manifesteth all things.

“ As [for us] we do believe in the only true and living God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all things in them contained, and doth uphold all things that he hath created by the word of his power. Who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past to our fathers by the prophets, but in these last days he hath spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things, by whom he made the world. The which Son is that Jesus Christ that was born of the Virgin ; who suffered for our offences, and is risen again for our justification, and is ascended into the highest heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Even in him do we believe ; who is the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth. And in him do we trust alone for salvation ; by whose blood we are washed from sin ; through whom we have access to the Father with boldness, being justified by faith in believing in his name. Who hath sent forth the Holy Ghost, to wit, the Spirit of Truth, that proceedeth from the Father and the Son ; by which we are sealed and adopted sons and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. From the which Spirit, the Scriptures of truth were given forth, as, saith the Apostle Peter, ‘ Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.’ The which were written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come ; and are profitable for the man of God, to reprove, and to exhort, and to admonish, as the Spirit of God bringeth them unto him, and openeth them in him, and giveth him the understanding of them.

“ So that before all [men] we do declare that we do believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, according as they are [declared of in the] Scriptures ; and the Scriptures we own to

be a true declaration of the Father, Son and Spirit ; in [which] is declared what was in the beginning, what was present, and was to come.

“ Therefore, all [ye] people in whom honesty is ! stand still and consider. Believe not them that say, Report, and we will report it—that say, Come, let us smite them with the tongue ; but try all things, and hold fast that which is good. Again we say, take heed of believing and giving credit to reports ; for know that the truth in all ages was spoken against, and they that lived in it, were, in all ages of the world, hated, persecuted, and imprisoned, under the names of heretics, blasphemers, and

[Here part of the paper is torn off ; and it can only be known, by an untelligible shred, that fourteen lines are lost. We read again as follows :]

“ that sheweth you the secrets of your hearts, and the deeds that are not good. Therefore, while you have light, believe in the light, that you may be the children of the light ; for, as you love it and obey it, it will lead you to repentance, bring you to know Him in whom is remission of sins, in whom God is well pleased ; who will give you an entrance into the kingdom of God, an inheritance amongst them that are sanctified. For this is the desire of our souls for all that have the least breathings after God, that they may come to know Him in deed and in truth, and find his power in and with them, to keep them from falling, and to present them faultless before the throne of his glory ; who is the strength and life of all them that put their trust in Him ; who upholdeth all things by the word of his power ; who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.

Thus we remain friends to all that fear the Lord ; who are sufferers, not for evil doing, but for bearing testimony to the truth, in obedience to the Lord God of life ; unto whom we commit our cause ; who is risen to plead the cause of the innocent, and to help him that hath no help on the earth ; who will be avenged on all his enemies, and will repay the proud doers.

“ CHRISTOPHER HOLDER,

“ JOHN COPELAND,

“ RICHARD DOUDNEY,

*“ From the House of Correction the 1st of the
“ Eighth Month, 1657, in Boston.”*

I certify that the foregoing is an accurate and true copy of the original document, issued by the above-named Friends, so far as the same can in its present mutilated state be read ; and that it exactly corresponds with the original, except that, for the sake of perspicuity, some additional points have been inserted, the orthography has been adapted to modern usage, some words, not legible, have been supplied within crotchets, and a few grammatical errors have been corrected.

GOOLD BROWN.*

New York, Ninth Month 23rd, 1829.

In addition to the foregoing, Christopher Holder and John Copeland prepared a document, shewing how contrary to the tenor of the New Testament was the persecuting spirit exhibited in New England ; with a warning to those who indulged therein. This paper gave great offence to the magistrates. The malevolent Endicott told the prisoners that they deserved to be hanged for writing it ; and if he had possessed power to execute his desires, the gibbet on Boston Common would, in all probability, soon have terminated the labours of these good men. The governor and deputy-governor, who, in their hatred to Quaker doctrines, were resolved to crush every appearance of them in Massachusetts, determined that those whom they had imprisoned in Boston gaol should feel the utmost weight of their hand, and, overstepping the bounds of their existing laws, cruel as they were, they ordered all the Friends then in prison to be " severely whipped twice a week," the punishment to commence with fifteen lashes, and to increase the number by three, at every successive application of the degrading sentence.

Severe as the Massachusetts law of 1656 had been against the Quakers, its promoters found, to their disappointment and dismay, that it failed to accomplish its purpose. The rulers of Boston, with Endicott at their head, urged blindly on by their

* The original was obtained by Goold Brown from a distant relative, whose ancestors were members of our religious Society of Pembroke, in Plymouth county, Massachusetts. He has forwarded to us a copy of the words remaining in the mutilated part of the document referred to ; they are, however, so few and isolated as not to have any intelligible meaning. They are therefore not inserted.

animosity to the new sect, concluded to try the effect of yet severer measures, and at their court in the Eighth Month, 1657, passed the following law :

“ As an addition to the late order, in reference to the coming, or bringing in any of the cursed sect of the Quakers into this jurisdiction, It is ordered, that whosoever shall from henceforth bring, or cause to be brought, directly or indirectly, any known Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics into this jurisdiction, every such person shall forfeit the sum of £100. to the country, and shall, by warrant from any magistrate, be committed to prison, there to remain, until the penalty be fully satisfied and paid ; and if any person or persons within this jurisdiction, shall henceforth entertain or conceal any Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics (knowing them to be so) every such person shall forfeit to the country forty shillings for every hour's concealment and entertainment of any Quaker or Quakers, &c., and shall be committed to prison till the forfeitures be fully satisfied and paid : And it is further ordered, that if any Quaker or Quakers shall presume (after they have once suffered what the law requireth) to come into this jurisdiction, every such male Quaker shall, for the first offence, have one of his ears cut off, and he kept at work in the house of correction, till he can be sent away at his own charge ; and for the second offence, shall have his other ear cut off, and kept at the house of correction as aforesaid. And every woman Quaker that hath suffered the law here, that shall presume to come into this jurisdiction shall be severely whipped, and kept at the house of correction at work, till she be sent away at her own charge ; and so also for her coming again, she shall be used as aforesaid : And for every Quaker, he or she, that shall a third time offend, they shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and kept at the house of correction close to work till they be sent away at their own charge. And it is further ordered, That all and every Quaker, arising from amongst ourselves, shall be dealt with and suffer the like punishment, as the law provides against foreign Quakers.

“ EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*”

“ *Boston, 14th day of October, 1657.*”

The barbarous and illegal proceedings of Endicott and Bellingham, in ordering the imprisoned Friends to be whipped twice a week in the manner described, raised loud murmurs among many inhabitants of the town, who felt that such cruel indignities were alike repugnant to humanity and justice. The compassion thus excited towards the sufferers, effected their release, and on the 24th of the Ninth Month, they obtained their discharge. The law which had been enacted in the previous month was then read to them, when they were forthwith banished from the colony, except Cassandra Southwick, who was permitted to return to her home at Salem. In addition to Christopher Holder, John Copeland and Richard Doudney, we find that Mary Clark was banished on this occasion.

Humphrey Norton, who landed from Robert Fowler's vessel at Rhode Island, appears to have been engaged in that colony during the Sixth and Seventh Months, and in the following month, within the limits of Plymouth colony. On entering the latter he proceeded forthwith to Sandwich, where he laboured in the work of the ministry among those who had now become his fellow-professors. He was not, however, allowed to remain long undisturbed. A warrant was issued against him on the vague charge of being an extravagant person, and he was arrested and conveyed to Plymouth. Having been detained there a considerable time without examination, Humphrey began to fear that the court then sitting would adjourn without giving him a hearing; he therefore sent this brief message to the magistrates.

"Seeing you have apprehended me publicly as an evil doer, and have continued me [a prisoner] contrary to law, equity, and good conscience, I require of you a public examination, and if found guilty, to be publickly punished; if not, cleared."*

The magistrates accordingly had the prisoner brought before them. Several of them evinced a feeling of moderation, but not so the governor, who commenced an attack on the doctrines of Friends, denying that the light which enlightened every man was sufficient for salvation. But Humphrey Norton showed him by

* Norton's Ensign, p. 25.

the declaration of Holy Writ, that "the grace of God, that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men;" and that Christ had said "my grace is sufficient for thee." The governor then asked him "whether the Scriptures were not the rule of life and ground of faith." He replied, that it was only "through faith in Christ Jesus," the great Author and Finisher of our faith, and the true Rule and Guide of life, that the Scriptures were able to make wise unto salvation.* Unable to convict him of any breach of their laws, they nevertheless sentenced him to banishment. Having been taken by the officers fifty miles in the direction of Rhode Island, he proceeded to that settlement, within the limits of which he laboured for some months in the work of his Great Master. Towards the close of the year, he passed over to Long Island, and arriving in the Twelfth Month at Southhold, he was arrested and taken to New Haven in Connecticut, where he was heavily ironed, and imprisoned for twenty-one days, and, notwithstanding the severity of the season, was also denied the use both of fire and candle. To his further sufferings at New Haven, we shall have occasion again to refer.

William Brend, who we may here remark, was an aged person, after landing with his companions at Rhode Island, appears to have confined his gospel labours to that province until the Eleventh Month of 1657; when, being joined by his young friend John Copeland, who had been but a few weeks before banished from Boston, he set out on a visit to the colony of Plymouth. They first proceeded to Scituate, (now Pembroke) where they met with their fellow-voyager Sarah Gibbons, who had lately come from New Netherlands. At Scituate there were those who rejoiced in the spread of the doctrines declared by Friends, and at the house of James Cudworth, a magistrate, the three gospel labourers met with a cordial reception. Their presence in the colony again disturbed the rulers at Plymouth, and, anticipating that neither Cudworth, nor his fellow-magistrates of Scituate, would prosecute them, officers were dispatched for their arrest. Timothy Hatherly, another magistrate of Scituate, on

* Norton's Ensign, p. 33.

examining the warrant of the officers, significantly observed, "Mr. Envy had procured this;" and, on his own responsibility refused to permit the arrest to take place. Thus shielded from their enemies, William Brend and John Copeland pursued their religious engagements without interruption. The heart of Timothy Hatherly had evidently been tendered by the Day-spring from on high, awakening his interest for the spread of vital religion, and for the preservation of its advocates from the hands of evil men. With this feeling, the worthy magistrate, on the departure of William Brend and John Copeland, furnished them with the following pass:—

"These are, therefore, to any that may interrupt these two men in their passage, that ye let them pass quietly on their way, they offering no wrong to any.

"TIMOTHY HATHERLY."*

With this pass, the two Friends left Scituate, intending to proceed without delay to the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut; and in their journey they passed through Plymouth. On hearing this, the magistrates immediately issued a warrant for their arrest, which was soon accomplished. Being brought before the authorities, they were required to enter into an engagement to leave that jurisdiction within forty-eight hours. They replied that it was with the intention of proceeding elsewhere that they were pursuing the journey, but that they felt restrained from making a promise to do so. This being construed by the bench into contemptuous perverseness, the travellers were sentenced to a severe scourging. It was in vain that these persecuted men pleaded their rights as Englishmen, to travel in any part of the dominions of their country; "the protector's instrument of government" was unheeded by the persecuting magistrates.

The rulers of the colony of Plymouth, like their fellow professors at Boston, found that their efforts for the suppression of

* Norton's Ensign, p. 28.

Quakerism were abortive. Ministers of the new Society continued to arrive within their limits, and the doctrines which they preached had been received by many, who rejoiced to welcome them to their homes. The noble conduct of Cudworth and Hatherly, in protecting the persecuted Friends, tended greatly to increase the gloomy apprehensions of the Puritans. These alarming indications of the spread of the "Quaker contagion," having obtained the grave consideration of the Court at Plymouth, induced it to enact the following law.

"Whereas there hath several persons come into this Government commonly called Quakers, whose doctrine and practices manifestly tend to the subversion of the fundamentals of Christian religion, church order, and civil peace of this Government, as appears by the testimonies given in sundry depositions and other. It is therefore enacted by the Court and authority thereof, that no Quaker or person commonly so called, be entertained by any person or persons within this Government, under the penalty of five pounds for every such default or be whipped. And in case any one shall entertain any such person ignorantly, if he shall testify on his oath that he knew not them to be such, he shall be free of the aforesaid penalty, provided he, upon his first discerning them to be such, do discover them to the constable or his deputy."

The passing of the foregoing order brings us to the close of the year 1657, a year memorable in the early history of Friends in America. In addition to those who landed from the "Woodhouse," New England was also visited towards the close of this year by John Rous, William Leddra, and Thomas Harris from Barbadoes. There were, therefore, at least ten Friends who were travelling at this period in the work of the ministry in that province. From what has already been related, it is evident that the work in which they were engaged was not of human appointment, and that, under the divine blessing, the precious truths they advocated, had taken root, and were spreading in the western world.



BOSTON, FROM DORCHESTER-NECK,

Lithography, by Thomas W. & S. Burroughs, N. London

CHAPTER VI.

Humphrey Norton's sufferings at New Haven—He proceeds, accompanied by John Rous, to Plymouth; their sufferings at that place—William Brend, Mary Dyer, Mary Wetherhead, John Copeland, and John Rous, visit New Haven—William Leddra passes into Connecticut; is banished thence, and returns to Rhode Island—Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh proceed to Massachusetts; their perilous journey thither—They arrive at Boston; are imprisoned and scourged—They go to Providence and Connecticut; are banished from Connecticut—Robert Hodgson visits New England—Richard Doudney, Mary Clark, and Mary Wetherhead are shipwrecked and drowned—Ten Friends in the ministry meet on Rhode Island—Thomas Harris goes to Boston, and William Brend and William Leddra to Salem—Their sufferings at those places—Humphrey Norton and John Rous visit Boston—They are imprisoned and scourged—The inhabitants of Boston subscribe money for the liberation of Friends from gaol.

HUMPHREY NORTON, whom we have noticed as a prisoner at New Haven, in Connecticut, in the latter part of 1657, was brought before the court there, in the beginning of the First Month following. On his examination he was not charged with any breach of the civil law, but his persecutors considered that they had more serious things to allege against him on doctrinal grounds, and a priest undertook to prove to the court, that he was guilty of heresy. Humphrey attempting to reply to his allegations, a large iron key was placed to his mouth, and so tied, as to prevent his speaking. He was told that when the priest had concluded he might answer the charges, but before he had an opportunity of doing so, the priest "had fled."* The trial occupied two days, and, after a long and frivolous examination, and many attempts on the part of the authorities, to entrap the prisoner in

* Norton's Ensign, p. 50.

his words, he was re-committed. After ten days he was again brought before the court, when he received a sentence from which humanity recoils. He was first to be whipped, then burnt in the hand with the letter H, to signify that he was a condemned heretic; to be fined ten pounds for the costs and charges of the trial, and finally to be banished from the colony of New Haven, "upon the utmost penalty that the law could inflict."* The court determined that no time should be lost in subjecting this victim of their displeasure to the cruel decree; and, in the afternoon of the same day, amidst a large concourse of people, gathered by beat of drum, the whipping and burning were carried into execution. The first act was to place him in the stocks "in view of all the people," and when he had been stripped to the waist, "with his back to the magistrates," the flogging commenced. Thirty-six "cruel stripes" were inflicted: and probably more would have been given, had not the inhuman exhibition disgusted the bystanders. "Do they mean to kill the man?"† was the language of dissatisfaction which broke from the crowd. Humphrey, however, who was remarkably freed from the feeling of pain observed that "his body was as if it had been covered with balm."‡ This part of the sentence being executed, the officers turned the face of the sufferer to the magistrates, and having fastened his right hand in the stocks, burnt the letter H upon it, "more deep," says John Rous, "then ever I saw an impression upon any living creature."§ The presence of Him, who supports his devoted children under every variety of trial, was, however, very near this faithful man, and on being loosed from the stocks, "the Lord opened his mouth in prayer, and he uttered his voice towards heaven, from whence came his help, to the astonishment of them all."|| He was enabled to rejoice and give thanks, for the peace, and love, and joy, with which his heart abounded. He was now told that he might have his liberty, on paying the fine and prison fees. To this he replied, that if the sum of two-pence only would

* Norton's Ensign, p. 50.

† The Secret Works of a cruel people, p. 6.

‡ Norton's Ensign, p. 51.

§ Ibid, p. 51.

|| New England Judged, p. 155.



obtain his discharge, he could not pay it, or consent for others to do so for him. The authorities, being evidently ashamed of their cruel proceedings, then told him, that if he would only promise to pay the amount hereafter, he should be released ; but this also he declined. A Dutch settler, touched with compassion for the sufferer, now came forward, and, offering twenty nobles, obtained his discharge. "His spirit within him," the friendly settler remarked, "made him do it."* Humphrey Norton was then banished the colony of New Haven, from whence he proceeded to Rhode Island. These sufferings of Humphrey Norton, afford the first instance of the persecution of Friends in Connecticut.

After remaining for several weeks in the province of Rhode Island, Humphrey Norton believed it to be required of him to attend the next general court for the colony of Plymouth ; and John Rous, who had recently returned from a visit to some parts of Connecticut, felt it his duty to accompany him. The immediate object of Humphrey Norton's visit to Plymouth, was to plead with the authorities of that colony, on account of their intolerant and cruel proceedings towards Friends ; and in order that the governor might know the object of his coming, he forwarded previously, an epitome of the sufferings which his fellow-professors had endured in that settlement, with some remarks upon them. "These," he observes, "and what further may be presented to remembrance by the Lord, are the just grounds whereupon my intent and desire is, to appear before your court and country, and all who may be concerned therein, if God permit."†

On the 1st of the Fourth Month, 1658, the two Friends arrived at Plymouth, where they were immediately arrested and imprisoned, and two days after, they were brought before the court and questioned, as to their motives in coming. Humphrey referred them to the paper he had forwarded. The governor, however, unwilling to admit that he had received it, uttered several falsehoods and unfounded charges, which called forth a rebuke from Humphrey Norton. John Rous, feeling that, as a free-born Englishman, he had an undoubted right to visit any part of the

* Norton's Ensign, p. 51.

† Ibid, p. 39.

British dominions, denied the authority of the law, by which they sought to exclude Friends from the territory. The examination, however, ended in their being re-committed to prison. The Plymouth records charge them with having acted turbulently on the occasion. Humphrey Norton's reproof to the governor for his falsehoods, and the pleading of John Rous for his rights as a British subject, appear to have constituted the only ground for the charge.

Two days after the two Friends had been remanded, they were again brought before the court; for the object, it would appear, of being charged with heresy, by an individual who was anxious for the support of Puritan orthodoxy. The prisoners, confident of being able to disprove the obnoxious charge, desired a public opportunity of doing so; but the magistrates, fearing the result of a disputation, remanded them a second time; their accuser with some others being requested to visit them in prison, to hear what they had to say in answer to the charge. The interview having ended, it was reported to the court, that there was "very little difference betwixt what Winter affirmed, and the said Humphrey Norton owned;" from which it seems that their accuser failed to sustain his allegation. On being again brought into court, Humphrey Norton desired that he might be permitted to read the paper which he had written, in explanation of the object of his visit to the colony. The governor, however, who still pretended to be ignorant of its contents, not only refused the request, but again used abusive language, calling the prisoners "inordinate fellows," "Papists," "Jesuits," and many other opprobrious epithets. Humphrey, indignant at these malicious expressions, replied, "Thy clamorous tongue I regard no more than the dust under my feet."*

The rulers at Plymouth, disappointed in not having sufficient evidence to convict the two Friends of heresy, and, determined that they should suffer for thus venturing within the limits of the colony, concluded to tender them the oath of allegiance, a snare in which they well knew that these conscientious men would be

* Colonial Records.

entrapped. On their refusal of the oath, the magistrates at once ordered them to be flogged ; Humphrey Norton being sentenced to receive twenty-three, and John Rous fifteen lashes. On their leaving the court, several of the inhabitants, desirous to express the sympathy which they felt for the strangers, shook hands with them as they passed ; but the envious rulers, disturbed at these tokens of Christian kindness, ordered three of them to be placed in the stocks for the act. The prisoners on arriving at the place of punishment, felt their minds influenced by the spirit of prayer, and in the midst of the assembled multitude, they supplicated the Most High. The flogging, although executed with great severity, was borne by the sufferers with marked patience and meekness. Being informed at its conclusion, that on the payment of the fees they might have their liberty, they answered, that if anything was due, they might go to the keeper of that purse, which had been filled by robberies on the innocent. A Puritan minister, who had been banished from Virginia for non-conformity to Episcopacy, was heard to remark, in reference to this exciting occasion ;—" On my conscience, you are men of noble spirits ; I could neither find it in my heart to stay in the court to hear and see the proceedings, nor come to the stocks to see your sufferings." " This persecution," remarks John Rous, " did prove much for the advantage of truth, and their [the magistrates] disadvantage ; for Friends did with much boldness own us openly in it, and it did work deeply with many." After a further imprisonment of a few days, they were released, and returned to Rhode Island.

The sufferings of Humphrey Norton at New Haven, and his banishment from thence, did not deter other gospel labourers from visiting that settlement. William Brend, Mary Dyer, and Mary Wetherhead, went thither from Rhode Island, to bear a public testimony against the cruelty and bigotry of the rulers, and arrived in the Second Month, 1658 ; but they were immediately arrested, and forcibly carried back to Rhode Island.

During the same month, John Rous and John Copeland, under a sense of religious duty, visited the colony of Connecticut. They first proceeded to Hartford, where resided John Winthrop, the

governor, who was an enlightened man, and averse to persecution. At Hartford lived also a noted Puritan disputant, with whom John Copeland and John Rous had a discussion in the presence of the governor, and several of the magistrates. The priest proposed several questions, with a view to confound the two Friends: "What is God?" he asked. "A spirit," replied the Friends. The priest hoping by a syllogistic mode of reasoning to show the contrary, denied their assertion. "A spirit is an angel," said he, "an angel is a creature; God is not a creature, and therefore God is not a spirit." But the Friends, confident in the truth of their assertion, replied that his conclusion was contrary to Scripture, and that "it shewed he had learned more of logic than of God; for had he known God, he dared not thus to have spoken."* The priest, supposing that he had to deal with two ignorant men, proceeded to other subjects; but in these also, notwithstanding his artful mode of reasoning, he signally failed; "much," says John Rous, "to the glory of truth, and his own shame." Much of the day having been thus spent in polemical discussion, the magistrates informed the strangers that, by a law of the colony, their presence could not be allowed within its limits. Their visit to Connecticut was short, but it appears to have been instrumental for good; "the Lord," says John Rous, "gave us no small dominion, and after some stay there we returned to Rhode Island." After remarking that the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut, had united in the unholy purpose of banishing Friends, John Rous says of Connecticut, "amongst all the colonies, found we not the like moderation as in this; most of the magistrates being more noble than those of the others."†

About the Third Month of this year, William Leddra, who had lately arrived at Rhode Island from Barbadoes, in company with Thomas Harris, also felt drawn to visit the colony of Connecticut. After having had some religious service there, he was arrested and banished, and subsequently returned to Rhode Island.

Sarah Gibbons, and Dorothy Waugh, who had been engaged in

* Norton's Ensign, p. 52.

† Ibid, p. 53.

Rhode Island, left that colony in the Second Month of 1658, and proceeded on a gospel mission to Salem. The journey, which was performed on foot, occupied them several days. Their way was through a wilderness country of more than sixty miles, and being performed in the winter season, they were exposed to "great storms and tempests of frost and snow," while their only shelter at night was such as the forests afforded. "They lodged," says Humphrey Norton, "in the wilderness day and night—through which they cheerfully passed to accomplish the will and work of God, who, for their reward, brought them, beyond their expectation, to their appointed place, where their message was gladly received."* Having been occupied in gospel labours at and about Salem for two weeks, they believed it required of them again to go to the persecuting town of Boston. Arrived here, they felt it their duty to attend the weekly lecture given at the place of public worship, and, after waiting quietly until the lecturer had finished, Sarah Gibbons began to address the company. She had not, however, uttered many sentences, before she was taken into custody by the sergeant. Dorothy Waugh then rose, and having repeated the Scripture passage, "Fear God and give glory to his name,"† she also was stopped, and with her companion was hurried to prison, in the midst of a concourse of excited people. After being closely confined for three days, these faithful women were brought before the intolerant Endicott and Bellingham, who sentenced them to be whipped; an order which was cruelly executed, "with a threefold cord, having knots at the ends for tearing the flesh." The whipping being over, "the people were astonished" to hear these innocent sufferers vocally offering praise and thanksgiving to their Heavenly Father, for the help of His sustaining presence in the time of their extremity. From this scene they were conveyed back to the prison-house, the gaoler refusing to let them go without the payment of his fees. Here they were detained for four days, when a kind-hearted inhabitant of Rhode Island obtained their release.

On leaving Boston, they proceeded southward to Providence

* Norton's Ensign, p. 69. .

† Ibid p. 70.

and Rhode Island, where they remained for some weeks. They then felt drawn to pay a visit to Connecticut ; and, leaving the company of many of their dear and sympathizing friends, they travelled to Hartford. Of the nature of their religious services at this town we are uninformed. In consequence of the laws of the colony, however, they were soon placed under confinement,* and in a short time banished from its soil. Excepting that some extra apparel, which they took with them, was sold by the gaoler to pay his fees, no act of persecution befel them at Hartford.

Robert Hodgson, who, on reaching the shores of America, proceeded to visit New Netherlands and Long Island, arrived early in 1658, within the limits of Rhode Island, from whence he passed eastward as far as Marshfield, in the colony of Plymouth.

Excepting Mary Dyer, of Rhode Island, and John Rous, William Leddra, and Thomas Harris, from Barbadoes, up to the Third Month, 1658, the eleven who had crossed the Atlantic in the "Woodhouse," were the only Friends labouring in the work of the gospel in New England ; making in the whole fifteen, who were publicly pleading the cause of their Lord in this interesting part of the world. But it pleased the All-wise Disposer of events, whose purposes, however mysterious, we dare not question, to reduce the number of this devoted band. We have previously stated that Richard Doudney and Mary Clark were fellow-prisoners at Boston, and that they were liberated in the Ninth Month, 1657, after which, it appears, they were mostly engaged within the colony of Rhode Island. Mary Wetherhead had landed at New Amsterdam, but her presence not being allowed, either in the Dutch colony, or at New Haven, she also went to Rhode Island in the Second Month, 1658. Soon afterwards, these three Friends suffered shipwreck and were drowned.

About the middle of the Fourth Month following, ten of the remaining number met on Rhode Island, but they were not permitted long to enjoy this favoured retreat. On the 15th, William Brend, Thomas Harris, and William Leddra, proceeded

* Secret Works, p. 6.

northward for Massachusetts : in a day or two after, Christopher Holder and John Copeland passed eastward to Plymouth ; and two weeks later, Humphrey Norton and John Rous felt it to be their religious duty to go to Boston ; the three women Friends, Sarah Gibbons, Dorothy Waugh, and Mary Dyer, still remaining on Rhode Island. We next proceed to some particulars of the services of the respective parties.

William Brend and William Leddra passed onwards to Salem ; but Thomas Harris arrived at Boston on the 17th, the usual " lecture-day " of the week, and, under a feeling of religious duty, he attended the meeting. Having waited until the priest had finished his lecture, Thomas Harris began to address the company, but he was quickly interrupted and stopped. He again attempted to speak, declaring that, " the Lord God was risen, and the coverings of the persecutors were found too narrow, for their nakedness appeared to all them that feared God."* He was then seized and forthwith taken to prison, but in a short time was brought before the magistrates for examination, or more properly, to receive a cruel sentence. The formal and haughty Endicott, observing the prisoner enter the court with his hat on, thus sternly addressed him :—" Do you know before whom you are come ? *Thomas Harris*. Yea. *Endicott*. Why then do you not put off your hat ? *Thomas Harris*. I do not keep it on in contempt of authority, but in obedience to the Lord."† His hat being pulled off, and Bellingham having observed that his hair was longer than their rules admitted, ordered the marshal to bring a pair of shears and cut it off. After being questioned by Endicott from whence he came, and what was his object in coming, he was sent back to prison ; instructions being given that no one should be allowed to visit him. The gaoler, a cruel and heartless man, refusing to allow or sell his prisoner food, told him on the second day, that for every shilling which he earned at work, he might have the value of four-pence in diet. Thomas Harris, however, believed it right to bear a decided testimony against such unreasonable conduct, and declined working. The refusal

* Norton's Ensign, p. 73.

† Ibid, p 74.

was almost immediately followed by a whipping, after which the gaoler told him that, as he had suffered the penalty of the law for venturing within their limits, he might have his liberty provided he paid the marshal to convey him away. "If the doors be set open, I know no other but I shall pass," said Thomas, "but to hire a guard, that I cannot."* His imprisonment was consequently continued. The gaoler, who still refused to sell him food, brought some before him, with the taunting assurance that he should not taste it unless he promised to work. He again declined, and for five days, in the dismal prison of Boston, he was kept without nourishment of any kind. On the fifth night, a sympathizing friend, undiscovered in consequence of the darkness which prevailed, managed to convey him some food through the prison window. "In all probability, starved he had been," says Bishop, "had not the Lord kept him those five days, and ordered it so after that time, that food was conveyed to him by night at a window, by some tender people, who, though they came not into the profession of truth openly, by reason of the cruelty [of the rulers,] yet felt it secretly moving in them, and so were made serviceable to keep the servants of the Lord from perishing; who shall not go without a reward."† On the sixth day of his imprisonment, Thomas Harris still refusing to work at the bidding of the merciless gaoler, was again subjected to the lash. Twenty-two strokes were given him on this occasion; and, with the view of additional torture, a *pitched rope* was used instead of the whip. Leaving him in the gaol, lacerated and torn by this cruel infliction, we now turn to the proceedings of his late companions.

Reaching Salem, William Brend and William Leddra were warmly welcomed by the few faithful Friends of that place, with whom they were favoured to hold several meetings to their mutual refreshment and comfort. On First-day, the 20th of Fourth Month, they attended one held at the house of Nicholas Phelps, in the woods, about five miles from Salem. A magistrate of the town hearing of the intended meeting, came with a constable, for the purpose of breaking it up, and securing the two strangers;

* Norton's Ensign, p. 75.

† New England Judged, p. 49.

but failing in his purpose, he left the company, with a threat that he would prosecute the Friends who were present. From Salem the two gospel messengers travelled to Newburyport, where also they had some religious service. Their passing thus from place to place, in the very heart of the Puritan population of New England, and by their powerful ministry making converts to the doctrines they professed, aroused the fears of the local magistracy to this new state of things. After leaving Newburyport, they were soon overtaken by a zealous ruler of the place, who arrested them and carried them to Salem. The court, which was then sitting in the town, had the Friends brought up for examination. Here they were interrogated respecting the doctrines they were promulgating, but their answers were so clear and convincing, and they appealed so effectually to the consciences of the magistrates, that the latter confessed they discovered nothing heretical or dangerous in their opinions. The court, however, told the prisoners that they had a law against Quakers, and that that law must be obeyed. An order for their committal immediately followed, and in a few days they were removed to Boston prison. Six Friends of Salem were also committed for having attended the meeting at the house of Nicholas Phelps.

On their arrival at Boston, William Brend and William Leddra, who were deemed special offenders, were separated from their companions. They were placed in a miserable cell, the window of which was so stopped, as not only to deprive them of light, but also of ventilation, whilst all intercourse between them and the citizens was strictly forbidden. The gaoler, following the cruel course which he had pursued towards Thomas Harris, refused to allow them an opportunity of purchasing food, offering them occasionally a little pottage and bread, if they would work for it. The sufferers, however, declining to sanction such prison discipline, were kept for five days without food of any description. On the 5th of the Fifth Month, they were subjected to a whipping, after which they were told that they might obtain their liberation on payment of the prison fees, and the expenses of the marshal to convey them from the colony. The offer, as might be anticipated was rejected. William Brend, still refusing to work,

underwent on the following day a new description of punishment. The inhuman gaoler, having fastened an iron fetter round his neck, and one on each leg, with great exertion drew them together, and left the aged man locked in that painful position for the space of sixteen hours. On the following morning, the gaoler, on releasing his victim from the iron fetters, ordered him to work, a requisition with which he still refused to comply. The baffled official, bent upon reducing his prisoner to submission, now changed his mode of treatment; and, taking a pitched rope, an inch in thickness, commenced beating him "over his back and arms with all his strength."* Bruised and torn by this cruel infliction, the innocent old man was taken to his dark and dismal cell. On the same day the gaoler unavailingly repeated his command to him to work. "He haled me down," observes William Brend, "into the lower room again, and bid me work, which I could not do for all the world." The disappointed gaoler, overcome with passion, renewed his work of cruelty with increased violence, and, "foaming at the mouth,"† continued beating William Brend until exhaustion alone stopped his barbarity, but not until he had inflicted on the object of his rage, ninety-seven blows with his pitched rope. On leaving the prisoner, he uttered a threat that on his return in the morning, he would inflict as many more.

The lacerated condition to which William Brend was reduced by the successive floggings, together with the weakness produced by the closeness of his cell, and by the privation of food for five days, seemed likely to be the means of soon liberating him for ever from the hands of his persecutors. He now sank rapidly, and "his body turning cold,"‡ he appeared to be dying. His critical situation having become known, the magistrates and the gaoler were much alarmed. Endicott, fearing the consequences which might arise in the event of the death of the sufferer, sent his physician to attend him, and various means were resorted to for the resuscitation of the dying man. The physician, after examining his mangled body, to the dismay of his persecutors, pronounced his recovery impracticable; intimating that the flesh

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 186.

† Ibid, vol. ii. p. 186.

‡ Ibid, vol. ii. p. 186.

was so torn and bruised, that it would rot from his bones. The idea of a murder committed under such aggravated circumstances, by a public officer of the colony, roused the feelings of the citizens of Boston. The magistrates, "to prevent a tumult,"* and fearful of being involved in serious responsibility, used efforts to fix the odium of the transaction on the gaoler; whilst Endicott, to appease the public mind, issued a hand-bill, declaring that this official should be summoned to the next court to answer for his conduct. But the circumstance, although one of such atrocious barbarity, had its defenders, among whom John Norton, the popular minister of Boston, made himself conspicuous. If the gaoler was called in question for the act, this persecuting ecclesiastic declared that he would appear on his behalf. William Brend, he said, had "endeavoured to beat the gospel ordinances black and blue, and it was but just to beat him black and blue,"† and "if they dealt with him, he would leave them."‡ The uneasy forebodings of the rulers of Massachusetts, in the prospect of the death of their prisoner, were, however, soon dissipated; for William Brend, contrary to all expectation, rapidly recovered.

Humphrey Norton, soon after the departure of William Brend and his companions for Massachusetts, was brought under a deep religious exercise to follow them in the same direction as far as Boston. "The sense of the strength of the enmity against the righteous seed" greatly distressed him, and took from him both rest and sleep. In this tried condition of mind, he informed John Rous of his prospect, who believed the same to be required of him; he being sensible," remarks Humphrey Norton, "of the necessity of our repairing thither, to bear our parts with the prisoners of hope, which at that time stood bound for the testimony of Jesus."§ Anxious to reach Boston as early as possible, they travelled day and night, and arrived there the day after that on which William Brend had been so barbarously treated. One of the inhabitants of the town, being affected at the wicked course which the rulers were pursuing, and observing the arrival of the two Friends, informed them of the cruelties that had been exer-

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 186.

† Norton's Ensign, p. 78.

‡ Secret Works, p. 8.

§ Norton's Ensign, p. 8.

cised towards William Brend, and begged them, "if they loved their lives," not to remain in that place of persecution; they were dead men," he added, "if they did not depart." It was evident that the honest "freeman" in his kind endeavours to save the strangers from suffering, did not understand the nature of their mission. "Such was our load," says Humphrey Norton, "that beside Him who laid it upon us, no flesh nor place could ease us."* The day on which the two devoted men entered Boston, was that of John Norton's usual lecture, and both of them believed it right to be present on the occasion. The public mind of the city being at this juncture much excited by the arrival of several Quaker ministers, the lecturer was not willing to lose so favourable an opportunity, of endeavouring to impress his audience with the danger of their principles. John Rous, in describing the discourse of this intolerant minister, says, "he began his sermon, wherein, amongst many lifeless expressions, he spoke much of the danger of those called Quakers, and did much labour to stain their innocency with many feigned words—sure I am, little but gall and vinegar fell from him while I was there, with which many of his hearers are abundantly filled." The lecture being over, Humphrey Norton, who had listened quietly to the slanderous language of the minister, feeling himself called to bear a public testimony against it, stood up and began thus to address the assembly. "Verily, this is the sacrifice which the Lord God accepts not, for whilst with the same spirit that you sin, you preach and pray, and sing; that sacrifice is an abomination."† It was evident to the minister and his company, that Humphrey Norton was about to plead against the wicked conduct of the Bostonians, in their misrepresentations and persecution of Friends. From their first arrival at that place, the rulers had studiously endeavoured to suppress all such remonstrances; and on this occasion Humphrey was soon haled down, and, with his companion John Rous, taken off to the magistrates. Before these authorities, a charge of blasphemy was preferred against Humphrey Norton, for the words he had uttered in the assembly. A long examination

* Norton's Ensign, p. 79.

† Ibid, p. 79.

took place, and the charge of blasphemy being disproved was withdrawn ; they were however Quakers, and as such, were sentenced to be in prison and whipped. During the examination, John Rous was treated by the authorities with more respect and attention, than it had been customary for them to show to Friends. This arose from the circumstance of Lieutenant Colonel Rous, the father of John Rous, having resided in the colony, and being well known and respected. Vainly imagining that, by their acquaintance with his father, they might be able to prevail on John Rous to relinquish his fellowship with the despised and "heretical Quakers," the magistrates began to flatter and praise him. He was, however, too firmly established in the truth, to be shaken by their hypocritical flattery ; and not only boldly upheld his doctrines before them, but, as an English citizen, demanded his privilege of having his case tried in the courts of the mother country. An exposure of the judicial proceedings of Massachusetts in reference to Friends was, however, what Endicott and Bellingham shrank from : they well knew that such a course would inevitably bring disgrace upon the colony, and might be attended with serious results in respect to their charter. It is then no matter of surprise that the appeal of John Rous should have been vigorously resisted. "No appeal to England ! No appeal to England !"* was the language of these intolerant rulers on the occasion. Before his removal from the court, John Rous referred to the inhuman practice of preventing his imprisoned Friends from obtaining food, and demanded that he and his companion might be supplied with proper nourishment for their money. The exposure had its good effect, and neither of them was subjected to this species of New England cruelty.

After an imprisonment of three days, Humphrey Norton and John Rous, underwent the whipping to which they had been sentenced. Liberty was then offered to them, on payment of the prison fees, and of the cost of conveyance beyond the limits of the colony ; but declining to recognise these impositions they were again taken to gaol. The law which had been enacted for

* Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii. p. 188.

the punishment of "Quakers and such accursed heretics," not being, in the estimation of the magistracy of Boston, sufficiently severe for those now in prison, an order was issued to the gaoler that, if the Quakers refused to work, they were to be whipped regularly twice a week ; the first whipping to be with ten strokes, the second with fifteen, and every subsequent whipping with an addition of three "until further orders." The victims upon whom the efficacy of this fresh order was to be tried, were Humphrey Norton, John Rous, William Leddra, and Thomas Harris, and on First-day, the 18th of Fifth Month, each of them received ten strokes. The gaoler, eager in his work of cruelty, in a few days had the whip again applied with the stated number of fifteen lashes to each. On this second application of the lash, the blood flowed profusely from the unhealed wounds of the prisoners. The inhabitants of Boston, already much excited by the barbarities which had been committed on William Brend, and increasingly disgusted by these renewed cruelties, opened a public subscription, for the purpose of discharging the prison fees of the sufferers, and for defraying the cost of conveying them out of the colony. The necessary amount was quickly raised, and, soon after, William Brend, and his four companions, were conveyed to the safe and quiet retreat of the settlement at Providence.

CHAPTER VII.

Christopher Holder and John Copeland's travels and sufferings in Massachusetts—John Rous visits Boston a second time and is again imprisoned—His letter to Margaret Fell—The barbarous usage of Christopher Holder, John Copeland, and John Rous—Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston proceed on a religious visit to America—Their gospel labours among the Indians—Josiah Cole's mission among those of Martha's Vineyard and Massachusetts—He is joined by John Copeland—They are imprisoned at Sandwich—Josiah Cole's further labours among the Indians of New England—Extract from his letter to George Bishop, containing a narrative of these engagements—Peter Cowsnooke, Edward Eades, and Philip Rose, embark for New England—Brief notices of the lives of Mary Clark, Richard Doudney, Mary Wetherhead, Sarah Gibbons, Dorothy Waugh, William Brend, Humphrey Norton, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, John Rous, Thomas Harris, and Robert Fowler.

CHRISTOPHER Holder and John Copeland, as we have already noticed, left Rhode Island about the middle of the Fourth Month, 1658, for the colony of Plymouth. On the 23rd, they attended a meeting of the little company of Friends at Sandwich. The marshal, on hearing of their arrival, immediately went to the meeting and arrested them. The orders which this functionary had received from the authorities, were, to banish all such without delay ; and, should any so banished return, that then " the select men appointed for that purpose, were to see them whipped."* Conformably to his instructions, he ordered the two Friends to leave the township : to which Christopher Holder and his companion replied, that, should they feel it to be the will of their divine Master, they would do so ; but on no other ground could

* Norton's Ensign, p. 39.

they promise to leave Sandwich. With a view to the infliction of the punishment referred to, the "select men" were informed of the continued presence of the Friends ; but this body, entertaining no desire to sanction measures so severe towards those who differed from them in religion, declined to act in the case. The marshal, disappointed at the refusal, determined to take them before a neighbouring magistrate at Barnstaple, about two miles distant, who, he anticipated, would lend a ready hand to assist in punishing Quakers,—an expectation which was fully realized. This functionary, after a frivolous examination of the prisoners, ordered them to be tied to the post of an out-house ; and then, turning executioner, he gave each of them thirty-three lashes. The Friends of Sandwich, aware of the hatred which the Barnstaple magistrate had to Quakerism, and well assured that no mercy was to be expected from him, with a view to cheer their brethren in bonds, accompanied them thither on the occasion, and were "eye and ear witnesses of the cruelty" inflicted on them. These were new proceedings at Barnstaple, and caused no little sensation among the quiet settlers of the district. They felt that however erroneous Quakerism might be, such conduct on the part of their rulers did not consist with the religion of Jesus. "Who would have thought," said one of them, "that I should have come to New England to witness such scenes?" On the following day, the two Friends were taken back to Sandwich, from whence they were carried towards Rhode Island, and liberated.

After labouring for some weeks in the work of the ministry, in the vicinity of Providence and Newport, Christopher Holder and John Copeland, felt a religious call to proceed to Boston. At this place they had already experienced both imprisonment and the lash of the knotted scourge ; and they were not ignorant that, on the return of those who had been banished from Massachusetts, as they had been, the loss of one of their ears would probably be the penalty inflicted. But these faithful men, feeling assured that their call was from on high, humbly obeyed the requisition, believing that He who had hitherto been their help and their shield, would not forsake them in any extremity to which they might be exposed for the truth's sake. Leaving

Providence on the 3rd of Sixth Month, 1658, they arrived on the same evening, at the town of Dedham. Their presence within the limits of Massachusetts was soon made known to the magistracy; and early on the following morning, the travellers were arrested, to be conveyed as prisoners to Boston. On reaching this city, they were taken without delay to the residence of Endicott. "You shall have your ears cut off,"* were the first words, which, angry and agitated, the cruel governor uttered on seeing them. That men, who had been imprisoned, and whipped, and banished for their religious opinions, should still persist in the advocacy of them with the certainty of incurring increased severities, was what the darkened mind of Endicott could not comprehend; "What, you remain in the same opinion you were before?" he said. "We remain in the fear of the Lord;" the prisoners meekly replied; adding, "the Lord God hath commanded us, and we could not but come." "The Lord command you to come! it was Satan," vociferated the governor. The examination ended in the issue of the following order:—

"TO THE KEEPER OF THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

"You are, by virtue hereof, required to take into your custody the bodies of Christopher Holder and John Copeland, and them safely to keep close to work, with prisoners' diet only, till their ears be cut off; and not to suffer them to converse with any while they are in your custody.

"EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary*."†

In pursuance of this order, the two Friends were kept closely confined; and the unmerciful gaoler, pursuing his usual course towards such prisoners, prevented them for several days from having food, because they declined to work at his bidding.

John Rous, although he had been recently banished from Massachusetts, felt it required of him again to visit Boston. He reached it on the 25th of Sixth Month, and was arrested and taken before Endicott on the same day. After ordering him to

* New England Judged, p. 71.

† Besse Sufferings, vol. ii. p. 189.

be searched for letters and papers, the governor sent him to join Christopher Holder and John Copeland, in the city gaol. About a week after he had been thus imprisoned, he wrote a letter to Margaret Fell, containing many interesting particulars of the proceedings of the Society in New England, of which the following, taken from the original, is a copy:—

JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FELL.

“DEARLY BELOVED SISTER, M. F.

“About the last of the Sixth Month, 1657, I came from Barbadoes with another Friend, an inhabitant of the island; and, according to the appointment of the Father, landed on Rhode Island in the beginning of the Eighth Month, on an out part of the island; and being come thither, I heard of the arrival of Friends from England; which was no small refreshment to me. After I had been there a little while, I passed out of the island into Plymouth Patent, to Sandwich, and several other towns thereabouts; where, in the winter time, more service was done than was expected. Some time after, I was in Connecticut with John Copeland, where the Lord gave us no small dominion, for there we met with one of the greatest disputers of New England, who is priest of Hartford, who was much confounded, to the glory of truth, and to his shame. After some stay there, we returned to Rhode Island, where Humphrey Norton was, and after some time, he and I went into Plymouth Patent, and they having a Court while we were there, we went to the place where it was; having sent before to the Governor, the grounds of our coming; but we were straightway put in prison, and after twice being before them, where we were much railed at, they judged us to be whipped. Humphrey Norton received twenty-three stripes, and I fifteen with rods, which did prove much for the advantage of truth, and their disadvantage; for Friends did with much boldness own us openly in it, and it did work deeply with many. After we were let forth thence, we returned to Rhode Island, and after some stay there, we went to Providence, and from thence to Boston, to bear witness in a few words, in their meeting-house

against their worship, till they haled us forth and had us to their house of correction, and that evening we were examined and committed to prison. On the seventh day in the evening, they whipped us with ten stripes each, with a three-fold whip, to conclude a wicked week's work, which was this ; on the Second-day, they whipped six Friends ; on the Third-day, the gaoler laid William Brend, (a Friend that came from London), neck and heels, as they call it, in irons for sixteen hours ; on the Fourth-day, the gaoler gave William Brend one hundred and seventeen strokes with a pitched rope ; on the Fifth-day, they imprisoned us ; and on the Seventh-day we suffered. The beating of William Brend did work much in the town, and for a time, much liberty was granted ; for several people came to us in the prison ; but the enemies, seeing the forwardness and love in the people towards us, plotted, and a warrant was given forth that, if we would not work, we should be whipped once in every three days, and the first time have fifteen stripes, the second eighteen, and the third time twenty-one. So on the Second-day after our first whipping, four of us received fifteen stripes each ; the which did so work with the people, that on the Fourth-day after, we were released. We returned to Rhode Island, and continued there awhile, and after some time, Humphrey Norton went into Plymouth Patent to Friends there, and I was moved to come to Boston ; so that, that day five weeks [after] I was released, at night I was put in again. There were Christopher Holder and John Copeland, two of the Friends which came from England ; and we do lie here, according to their law, to have each of us, an ear cut off ; but we are kept in the dominion of God, and our enemies are under our feet. It is reported that we shall be tried at a Court that is to be held next week, and if the ship do not go away from hence before then, thou shalt hear further how it is ordered for us, (if God permit). There was a great lamenting for me by many when I came again, but they were not minded by me ; I was much tempted to say, I came to the town to take shipping to go to Barbadoes, but I could not deny Him who moved me to come hither, nor his service, to avoid sufferings. This relation, in short, I have given thee, that thou might know how

it hath fared with me since I came into this land. About five weeks since, six Friends,* having done their service here, took shipping for Barbadoes ; two whereof were to go to Virginia and Maryland, two for London, and the other two were inhabitants of Barbadoes ; so that there are only four of us in the land.

“ Dear Sister, truth is spread here above two hundred miles, and many are in fine conditions, and very sensible of the power of God, and walk honestly in their measures. Some of the inhabitants of the land who are Friends have been forth in the service, and they do more grieve the enemy than we ; for they have hoped to be rid of us, but they have no hope to be rid of them. We keep the burden of the service off from them at present, for no sooner is there need in a place, but straightway some or other of us step to it ; but when it is the will of the Father to clear us of this land, then will the burden fall on them. The seed in Boston and Plymouth Patent is ripe, and the weight very much lies on this town, the which being brought into subjection unto the truth, the others will not stand out long. The seed in Connecticut and Newhaven Patents, is not as yet ripe, but there is a hopeful appearance, the gathering of which in its time, will much redound to the glory of God. We have two strong places in this land, the one at Newport in Rhode Island, and the other at Sandwich, which the enemy will never get dominion over ; and at Salem there are several pretty Friends in their measures ; but being very young, and the enemy exercising his cruelty much against them, they have been something scattered, but there are some of them grown pretty bold through their sufferings. Humphrey Norton, we hear, hath been with them this week, and had a fine large meeting among them, and they received much strength by it. One of the inhabitants of Salem was whipped three times in five days, once to fulfil their law, and twice for refusing to work ; after eleven days’ imprisonment he was let forth, and hath gotten much strength by his sufferings. Great

* These doubtless were William Leddra, and Thomas Harris, of Barbadoes, and William Brend, Richard Hodgson, Dorothy Waugh, and Sarah Gibbons. The four left in New England being Humphrey Norton, John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous.

have been the sufferings of Friends in this land, but generally they suffer with much boldness and courage, both the spoiling of their goods, and the abusing of their bodies. There are Friends, few or more, almost from one end of the land to the other, that is inhabited by the English. A firm foundation there is laid in this land, such an one as the devil will never get broken up. If thou art free to write to me, thou may direct thy letter to be sent to Barbadoes for me ; so in that which is eternal, do I remain,

“Thy brother, in my measure, who suffers for the Seed’s sake, earnestly thirsting for the prosperity and peace of Zion, the City of the living God,

*From a Lion’s Den called Boston
Prison, this 3rd day of the
Seventh Month, 1658.*

John Rous.

“My dear fellow-prisoners, John Copeland and Christopher Holder, do dearly salute thee. Salute me dearly in the Lord to thy children, and the rest of thy family who are in the truth.”

According to the statement of John Rous in the foregoing letter, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, and himself were examined, on the 7th of the Seventh Month, by the “Court of Assistants” assembled in Boston. After a tedious questioning relative to their object in visiting those parts, they were remanded, and on the 10th were again brought before the court, but for the purpose only of receiving the cruel sentence, that each should have his right ear cut off.* The prisoners, feeling the injustice of the proceedings, and not doubting such cruelties would be condemned by the tribunals of the mother country, informed the court that they desired to appeal to Cromwell against its decision. So little regard, however, had the civil

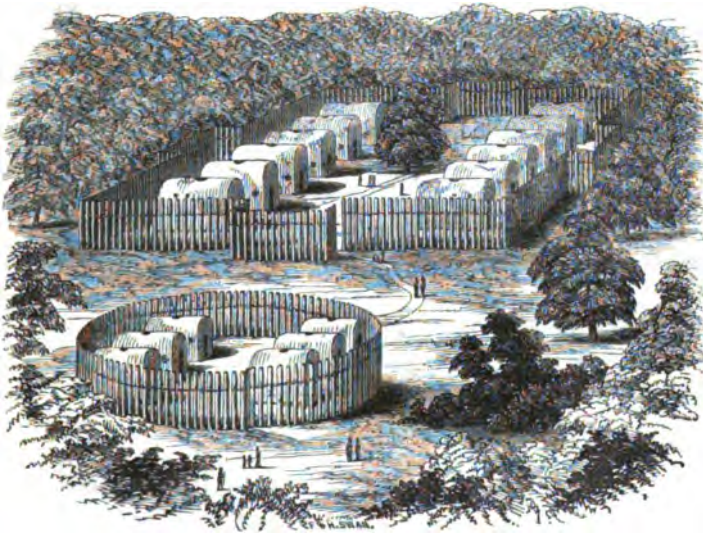
* This degrading punishment for ecclesiastical offences had been practised in England towards Puritans. By order of the Star Chamber, William Prynne in 1634, and Henry Burton and Dr. Bastwick in 1637, had their ears cut off in public on a scaffold in Palace Yard, Westminster.

powers of Massachusetts for the laws of the empire, in pursuing their intolerant course towards Friends, that the only reply elicited by the appeal was a threat that, unless they were quiet, the gag would make them so. In about one week after this wicked sentence had been pronounced, it was privately carried into execution by the hangman, within the walls of Boston gaol. "In the strength of God," say the prisoners, "we suffered joyfully, having freely given up not only one member, but all, if the Lord so required, for the sealing of our testimony which the Lord hath given us." On the 7th of the Eighth Month, John Rous, Christopher Holder, and John Copeland, were released from prison; the first having been confined for six, and the other two for nine weeks.

Excepting the visit of John Rous, William Leddra, and Thomas Harris, no fresh arrival of Friends in the ministry appears to have taken place in New England for more than a year after the landing of those from Robert Fowler's vessel. About the Eighth Month, 1658, however, Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, who had been engaged in religious labours among the Indians in Virginia and New Netherlands, reached Rhode Island, having travelled through the interior of the country. This inland journey extended through some hundreds of miles of forest country. The Indians who inhabited these uncultivated wilds had been greatly exasperated by the European settlers, with whom they were frequently involved in most murderous conflicts, and in sudden onsets from the forest whole villages of the Dutch had been laid waste. The circumstance, therefore, of two or three unarmed and defenceless Englishmen venturing among these irritated and revengeful natives, excited considerable surprise. But they were the bearers of peace and goodwill to these benighted sons of the forest. Their mission also was from on high, and they went forth divested of fear. Trusting in the unfailing arm of the Shepherd of Israel, they passed through the wigwam towns of the interior in perfect safety.

The annexed sketch, taken from a Dutch map of that period, represents one of the towns of an Indian tribe visited by Josiah Cole and his companions on this occasion.

*Maniere van woonplaatsen ofte Dorpen der Mahicans
ende andre Nation haer geburen*



"Plan of the dwellings or villages of the Mohegans, and other nations, their neighbours."

An original manuscript account of this extraordinary journey is yet preserved, from which we give the following extract:—

JOSIAH COLE TO GEORGE BISHOP.

"We went from Virginia [on the] 2nd of Sixth Month, 1658, and after about one hundred miles travel by land and water, we came amongst the Susquehanna Indians, who courteously received us and entertained us in their huts with much respect. After being there two or three days with [word indistinct,] several of them accompanied us about two hundred miles further, through the wilderness or woods; for there was no inhabitant so far,

neither knew we any part of the way through which the Lord had required us to travel. For outward sustenance we knew not how to supply ourselves, but without questioning or doubting, we gave up freely to the Lord, knowing assuredly that his presence was (and should be continued) with us ; and according to our faith, so it was, for his presence and love we found with us daily, carrying us on in his strength, and also opening the hearts of those poor Indians, so that in all times of need they were made helpful both to carry us through rivers, and also to supply us with food sufficient. After this travel, we came to a place where more of them inhabited, and they also very kindly entertained us in their houses, where we remained about sixteen days, my fellow-traveller [Thomas Thurston] being weak of body through sickness and lameness ; in which time these Indians shewed very much respect to us, for they gave us freely of the best they could get. Being something recovered after this stay, we passed on towards the Dutch plantation, to which one of them accompanied us, which was about one hundred miles further—

“ I am thy friend in the truth,

Josiah Cole

After reaching Rhode Island, Josiah Cole very soon felt drawn to visit the Indians on the island of Martha's Vineyard. “ I had a meeting amongst them,” he observes, “ and they were very loving, and told me they much desired to know God.” From thence he crossed over to the colony of Plymouth, and laboured in the love of the gospel among the aboriginal tribes of that district. “ Some of these,” he writes, “ had true breathings after the knowledge of God.” Here he was joined by John Copeland, and they proceeded from tribe to tribe, among the natives of Massachusetts, “ sounding the day of the Lord,” being received with courtesy and kindness ; but on reaching the town of Sandwich, and the dwellings of the civilized, an opposite treatment awaited them. The arrival of two English Quaker ministers becoming known to the authorities, they were soon subjected to

the laws of the colony against such, and whilst at a Friend's house in Sandwich they "were haled out by violence,"* and committed to prison. On his liberation, Josiah Cole returned to the untutored Algonquins, preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ, and inviting them to Him as the Leader, the Comforter, and all-sufficient Saviour of his people. Though these untutored sons of the forest knew that the youthful preacher† had but just come from within the prison walls of his persecutors, they nevertheless listened attentively to his ministrations. The hatred which the rulers of Massachusetts entertained towards Friends, was a circumstance of which the Indians were not ignorant, but acting according to their own sense of right and wrong, they were not disposed to follow the malevolent example. "The Englishmen did not love Quakers," remarked the Indian king to Josiah Cole on this occasion, "but," he added, "the Quakers are honest men and do no harm, and this is no Englishman's sea or land, and Quakers shall come here and welcome." The love and favour that Josiah Cole found amongst these Indians deeply impressed his mind. "I do confess," he wrote, "this to be the Lord's hand of love towards me; through the goodness of the Lord we found these Indians more sober and Christian-like towards us than the Christians so called."‡ This indefatigable labourer in the service of truth, having now been absent for a considerable time from his native country, felt at liberty to return home. Thomas Thurston made but a short stay in Rhode Island, and then passed southward again to Virginia.

About this time, Peter Cowsnooke, a Friend of the north of England, was directing his course towards North America, in company with Edward Eades and Philip Rose of Warwick. His desire was, if possible, to sail direct from some English port to New England; but not being able to effect this, he proceeded first to Barbadoes, being accompanied by Henry Fell and some other Friends, including the two from Warwick. They reached Barbadoes in the Seventh Month, 1658, and in the following month, Peter Cowsnooke, Edward Eades, and Philip Rose,

* New England Judged, p. 180.

† His age was then about twenty-four.

‡ Letter to George Bishop, 1658.

made arrangements for proceeding to Rhode Island, by way of Virginia,* but whether they reached the shores of New England has not been ascertained.†

In the future pages of this history, we shall have occasion to refer but little to those who crossed the Atlantic in Robert Fowler's vessel, or to the other gospel messengers whose visits to New England have also been noticed, excepting William Robinson, William Leddra, Robert Hodgson, and Josiah Cole. A sketch, therefore, of the lives of those dedicated servants of the Lord, from whom we are now about to turn our attention, may not be inappropriately given in this chapter. They doubtless possessed gifts and qualifications in the service of their Lord, differing widely from each other, but, seeking to be led by His unerring voice, they were preserved in unity and love, and in a harmonious labour in His holy cause, and were made eminently instrumental in the spread of vital religion among men.

MARY CLARK.

Mary Clark was the wife of John Clark, a tradesman of London, and united herself in religious fellowship with Friends, very early after their rise in that city. She came forth as a minister soon after, and in 1655 travelled into Worcestershire, to expostulate with the local magistracy respecting their cruel treatment of Friends ;

* Letter to Henry Fell, 1658.

† A short time previous to the embarkation of Peter Cowsnooke on this religious visit, he addressed a letter to Margaret Fell, in which he notices a conversation he had with George Fox, in reference to his religious prospect, and respecting which, at times, he appears to have had feelings of discouragement. "I asked George concerning it," he says, "when I was first with him, and he left it to me. I was since with him at the General Meeting, at John Crook's, and as before, he said he would leave it to me. But I being somewhat troubled, he asked what I would have him to say, had I freedom in myself to pass back again ? I answered, I did not at present see it ; so he said again he would leave it to me." The care observed by George Fox, in not interfering in a matter where individual apprehension of duty was concerned, and his solicitude that the party might not lean on the judgment of others, affords a striking instance of his watchful care in regard to such important matters.

in the course of which visit she was placed in the stocks at Evesham for three hours on the market-day,* and exposed to other sufferings. Leaving her husband and children in 1657, she proceeded on the visit to New England. The first member of the Society who experienced the application of the lash in Great Britain was Mary Fisher ; but it fell to the lot of Mary Clark to be the first among Friends to suffer in this revolting manner in America. She was liberated from Boston gaol in the Ninth Month, 1657, and was occupied in religious service in New England until the early part of 1658, when, as we have already mentioned, with two of her companions in the ministry, Richard Doudney and Mary Wetherhead, she was shipwrecked and drowned. Thus, we may reverently believe, was she suddenly called from a tribulated path, to ineffable and unfading glory. The sufferings which she endured in New England, were borne with marked Christian patience ; “ her innocency preaching condemnation to her adversaries,” and, “ for her faithfulness herein,” said her companions, “ the Lord God is her reward.”†

RICHARD DOUDNEY.

Prior to Richard Doudney's visit to America, we find no incident respecting him. After his engagement in New England, in 1657, he joined Christopher Holder in a visit to some of the West India islands ; ‡ he however, returned to Rhode Island in the spring of 1658, soon after which the melancholy shipwreck took place, in which he was drowned. He is described as an “ innocent man,” and one who “ served the Lord in the sincerity of his heart,”§ and he doubtless was prepared to meet the awful summons.

MARY WETHERHEAD.

Mary Wetherhead appears to have been an inhabitant of Bristol ; no particulars, however, of her life previous to her crossing the Atlantic in 1656, have been met with. She is spoken of as being unmarried, and, it is believed, was young at the time of her death.

* Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii. p. 60. † Norton's Ensign, p. 60.

‡ Letter of Peter Evans to George Fox, 1658.

§ Norton's Ensign, p. 62.

SARAH GIBBONS.

The narrative of the visit of the little company of gospel messengers to Boston, in 1656, first introduces the name of this Friend to our notice. After her expulsion from Connecticut in the early part of 1658, she appears to have been engaged for some months within the limits of Rhode Island, from whence, in company with Dorothy Waugh, the aged Brend, and three other Friends, she proceeded on religious service to Barbadoes.* In 1659, we find her again on Rhode Island; her earthly pilgrimage, however, was now nearly accomplished, and its termination was an awfully sudden and affecting one. Whilst attempting to land from a sloop at Providence, she was drowned. The melancholy accident is thus referred to in a letter of William Robinson's, under date of Fifth Month, 1659. "As they came near to the shore, near that town, there came a man in a canoe to fetch them from on board, wherein they went with some others, not minding that the canoe was a bad one, and soon after they were in it, the canoe filled with water and did sink. All that were in the canoe did escape and got to the shore, except Sarah Gibbons who was drowned. When it was low water they found her, and the next day buried her in Richard Scott's orchard." After alluding to the trial of her being thus unexpectedly taken from her friends, William Robinson adds, "but herein were we comforted, that she was kept faithful to the end."

DOROTHY WAUGH.

Dorothy Waugh, who resided, it is believed, in London, united with Friends, very soon after their rise in that city, and is mentioned as being both young and unmarried. Towards the close of 1654, she travelled in the work of the ministry into Lancashire, and from thence to Norwich, where, for exhorting the people in the market,† she was imprisoned for the space of three months. On her release from Norwich gaol, she proceeded to London to meet George Fox.‡ During 1655, she travelled in gospel labours, to

* Letter of Henry Fell, 1658. † Letter of R. Hubberthorne, 1655.

‡ Letter of T. Willan, 1655.

the western counties as far as Cornwall, and northward as far as Cumberland. In the course of this service she was imprisoned at Truro, and at Carlisle was subjected to barbarous treatment for preaching in the streets. In the early part of 1656, she visited some of the southern counties of England. The Berkshire sufferings for that year records her committal to the county gaol, for addressing the congregation in the public place of worship at Reading.* Her imprisonment, however, on this occasion, was but a short one, as she soon after embarked on her first visit to New England. The travels and sufferings of Dorothy Waugh, in New England, to the Fourth Month, 1658, have been already related, and after this period, the only remaining notice that we have respecting her, is of a visit to the West India Islands, towards the close of the same year. It is a remarkable circumstance that of the four women Friends, who formed a part of the little company of gospel ministers who crossed the Atlantic in the "Woodhouse" that within two years from the date of their landing in America, Dorothy Waugh was the only one surviving; her female companions having all found a watery grave. The following is a fac-simile of her signature.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Dorothy waugh". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent 'D' and 'W'.

WILLIAM BREND.

Among the ministers of the Society who were called thus early to labour in the work of the gospel in New England, the characters of few present features of greater interest than that of William Brend. The powerful preaching of Burrough and Howgill had not long been heard within the City of London, ere this ancient and venerable man appeared in the ranks of the ministers of the new Society. Having attained the age of manhood about the time of Queen Elizabeth's death, he witnessed the oppression and persecution inflicted on the Puritans in the time of James I.; but what was his own religious profession during this reign, and in the times of the civil wars of Charles I., or during the religious excitement which followed in the days of the Commonwealth, it

* MS. Account of Sufferings, vol. i.

does not appear. His good natural abilities and general intelligence, warrant the supposition, that at least he could not have been an unconcerned spectator of what was passing around him in reference to these things; his being alluded to as "a man fearing God in his generation," and who was "known to many of the inhabitants of the City of London,"* encourages this belief. Although his call to the work of the ministry was not until the evening of his day, it nevertheless pleased his Divine Master to lead him in the exercise of his gift into distant countries, and thus in 1656, he embarked with seven others for North America, and again in the following year. On both these occasions, William Brend occupied an interesting position, for, with the exception of one, or at most two, who were of middle age, all his fellow-labourers in the ministry were young and unmarried. The presence, therefore, of one, who as respects age was as a father among them, and who was also experienced in the truth, must have made his company peculiarly acceptable. The foregoing chapters detail his travels and sufferings in New England. It may however be remarked, that except in the martyrdom of four individuals, amidst all the cruelty which sectarian intolerance inflicted on the early Friends in New England, none was more severe, or more repugnant to the feelings of humanity, than that endured by this good and aged man. In 1658, it appears that he left Rhode Island on a visit to the West Indies :† in 1659, however, we again find him pleading the cause of true religion at Boston. This was subsequent to the passing of the Massachusetts law for banishment on pain of death, and under which, in the Third Month, he was expelled the jurisdiction. For some months after this, his religious engagements were confined within the limits of Rhode Island. He was a prisoner in Newgate, London, in the Ninth Month, 1662. When his incarceration there commenced, it is difficult to ascertain. In the Eleventh Month, 1664, some of his published pieces are dated "from Newgate:" and in the previous month, Bease records his being sentenced with several others to transportation to Jamaica.

* Howgill's Popish Inquisition, p. 64.

† Letter of Henry Fell, 1658.

The outbreak of the Fifth monarchy men in England at the close of the Protectorate, furnished a pretext to the Royalists for the adoption of severer measures towards nonconformists. Tendering the oath of allegiance was the most prominent of these measures, and objecting as the Society of Friends did to oaths of every description, it fell with peculiar force upon them; but notwithstanding the numerous imprisonments which arose from this cause, towards the close of 1661, the legislature passed an act to prohibit the meetings of dissenters, in which "Quakers" were especially alluded to. The penalties under which the act was to be enforced, were such, to use the language of its promoters, "as might be profitable to work upon the humours of such fanatics,"* and "to cure the distempers of these people."† The Society of Friends had borne a large amount of cruel sufferings by the revival of laws originally directed against Papists; it had, however, in 1662, to feel a more formidable oppression in this attempt of the legislature to crush them. The torrent of persecution which swept over it in consequence of the enactment in question, and the noble stand which Friends were strengthened to make against it, forms one of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of this people. In a very short time after the passing of the cruel law, there was not a county gaol in England which did not number among its prisoners, Friends who had been committed under its provisions, whilst some of the prisons, were literally crammed with them. In Newgate alone, William Brend could count hundreds of his fellow-professors. The wretched places into which they were thrust during these imprisonments are almost past belief.‡ The loathsomeness of Newgate was such, that during 1662, and the two subsequent years, no less than fifty-two of William Brend's fellow-prisoners died from disease contracted there. Edward Burrough, who was one of these martyrs, speaks of an hundred being "in one room"§ at a time.

During this storm of persecution, many christian exhortations

* Commons Journal in Kennett, p. 448.

† Journal of the Lords, May 28th, 1661.

‡ See "The Cry of Newgate, by R. C.," 1662.

§ Letter of E. Burrough to Friends, 1662.

to faithfulness and constancy, were addressed to the sufferers by the more prominent Friends of that day, among which we find one from the pen of William Brend, entitled "A loving salutation to all Friends every where, in this great day of trial, to stand faithful unto God over all sufferings." The following extracts from this piece, evidences the qualification of the writer for such services, and the strong desire which he felt for the maintenance of love and harmony among his persecuted and tried brethren every where :—

"It hath been upon my heart when in the sweet repose of the streams of my Father's love and life, by which my heart, soul and spirit, hath been overcome, to visit you with a loving salutation from the place of my outward bonds and imprisonment, for the gospel sake.

"O come, my dear lambs and dear babes, it is a time for us to flock together into our Father's fold, and to get into his tent of safety, and to lie down in the arms of his dear love, and to be covered with the wing of his power, now the wild boar of the forest is abroad to make his prey, and the wolvisish devourers are seeking to scatter the sheep of the Lord's pasture. O let us feel and know the safe harbour, in which alone is safety, whilst the boisterous storms and tempests are all about us, and the foaming rage of the troubled seas are casting up their waves, one after another.—

"Oh, dear lambs and babes of God, our Rock is sure and steadfast, our Refuge and Harbour safe and unmoveable, and our Pilot wise and exceeding skilful ; there is not a danger near that can attend us in our voyage to our everlasting land of rest, but he doth foresee, and knows right well how to avoid them all—he never failed any that trusted in him, and in the Arm of his salvation—may we all stand fast, and quit ourselves like men, and be strong in the power of his might.

"Oh, dear lambs ! we have a great portion ; for I can say in the secret of my soul, The Lord is my portion, and hath been and is yours also, who have waited for him, and in whom is your delight.

"Oh ! in the love and life of the Lamb, look over all weak-

ness in one another, as God doth look over all the weakness in every one of us, and doth love us for his own Son's sake—in so doing, peace will abound in our borders, it will flow forth amongst us like a river, and it will keep out jars, strifes and contentions from us, and so we shall be kept as a beautiful and amiable family, and in the order of God.

“These few lines do manifest something that was upon my heart towards you in the feelings of my Father's love, as I lay in my bed in the night season, this 11th of the Ninth Month, 1662.”

“*Newgate Prison in London.*” *William Brend*

Several other pieces were also written and published by William Brend during his imprisonment in Newgate.

Although William Brend had received sentence of transportation it was not carried into execution. This did not result from any change of feeling on the part of his persecutors, but simply from the difficulty they experienced to procure vessels for the purpose. With but one or two exceptions, the ship owners and captains declined to engage in the nefarious business, for, conscious of the uprightness and integrity of the sufferers, they felt no desire thus to countenance proceedings which evidently bore the stamp of cruelty and injustice. The number of Friends who received sentence of banishment gradually increased. In the summer of 1665, they amounted in Newgate to one hundred and twenty, and had not the great plague of London appeared, the number, doubtless, would have been considerably augmented. About the time when this devastating pestilence had reached its height, the prison doors of the metropolis were opened for the liberation of Friends, but not until the spirits of some scores* of the innocent victims of intolerance had been for ever freed, by the hand of death from all earthly oppression.

In 1672, the Yearly Meeting, as usual, was held in London. It was an important occasion in the history of Friends, and William Brend, aged and feeble as he was, attended, and his

* Besse, vol. i. pp. 388, 404, 407.

name, with that of eleven others, appears on the records of the meeting as having prepared one of the Epistles issued at that time. The only remaining notice that we find respecting him, is that which records his death about four years later. His age could not have been much, if at all, under ninety. The burial record is as follows—"William Brend of the liberty of Katherines, near the Tower, a minister, died the 7th of the Seventh Month, 1676, and was buried at Bunhill Fields."

HUMPHREY NORTON.

The earliest notice which we find respecting Humphrey Norton, occurs in a manuscript letter addressed to Margaret Fell in the Seventh Month, 1655, by Thomas Willan of Kendal; from this it appears that he was then residing in London, and acting as the accredited agent or officer of the Society there, for the assistance of Friends travelling in the ministry. Whilst thus occupied, he maintained a frequent correspondence with Thomas Willan and George Taylor of Kendal, who were actively engaged in superintending the affairs of the body at large, more particularly in reference to its provisions for defraying the travelling expenses of ministering Friends.* The rise of the Society of Friends in London, took place about one year previous to the date of the letter referred to, but as it had existed as a distinct association in the midland and northern counties, for nearly ten years before, the fact of Kendal being then the central place of the body, is explained.

The precise date when Humphrey Norton came forth as a minister, it is difficult to ascertain; but as early as 1655, he appears to have travelled as such in the North of England, and it is known that, in the following year, he was extensively engaged in the ministry in Ireland. During this period he had become acquainted with that nursing mother in the church, Margaret Fell, with whom he kept up a correspondence.† In the course of his travels in Ireland, he visited the provinces of Leinster,

* Vide letters of Thomas Willan and George Taylor to Margaret Fell, 1655 and 1656, in the Swarthmore MSS.

† Letter of Richard Hubberthorne, Tenth Month, 1655.

Munster, and Connaught; during which, in common with most of the early ministers of the Society, he experienced the persecuting hand of an envious and intolerant hierarchy. In Galway, he was "taken violently out of a meeting by a guard of soldiers, and driven from the city.* At Wexford, whilst at "a peaceable meeting," he was again seized by the soldiery, "taken to the steeple house, and thence committed to gaol till the next assizes.† His return from Ireland was in the early part of 1657.‡ In the Fourth Month, as has been already related, he went on board the "Woodhouse" for New England. The revolting cruelties which he endured in that land while prosecuting his gospel labours, need not be repeated. From New England, Humphrey Norton proceeded to visit some of the more southern English colonies. In 1660, he was again in Rhode Island, and, it is singular, that, after that date, no notice of him has been met with.

CHRISTOPHER HOLDER.

Previously to his visit to New England in 1656, Christopher Holder resided at Winterbourne, in Gloucestershire. He is referred to as a "well educated" man, and of "good estate," and was one of those who, in the south-west of England, very early professed with Friends. The following is the first notice found respecting him: "Christopher Holder, in y^e year 1655, was sent to y^e gayle at Ilchester, for speaking to y^e priest at Keinsham steeple house; and from thence after a while, upon bayle brought to y^e next sessions, and so discharged."§ Having been called by the Great Head of the Church to plead his holy cause among men, in 1656, he believed it required of him to visit New England: which visit he repeated in 1657, with the little band of gospel messengers who sailed for that country. His religious engagements there continued until near the close of 1657, when he proceeded on a visit to some of the West India islands. His absence, however, from North America was but short, for in a letter received by George Fox from Barbadoes,|| he is men-

* Sufferings of Friends in Ireland.

† Ibid.

‡ Swarthmore Collection of MSS.

§ MSS. Sufferings, vol. i.

|| Letter of Peter Evans, 1658.

tioned as having sailed from that island in the Second Month, 1658, for Bermuda and Rhode Island; the latter place, as we have already stated, he reached in the Fourth Month of that year. After his liberation from Boston gaol in the Eighth Month, 1658, he proceeded southward, and united with William Robinson and Robert Hodgson, "for some time," in gospel labours in Virginia, returning again to Rhode Island in the early part of 1659.* William Robinson, who was soon after imprisoned at Boston, mentions his having received in the Fifth Month, a letter from Christopher Holder, "who," he says, "was in service at a town called Salem, last week, and hath had fine service among Friends in these parts." In a short time after, Christopher Holder became a fellow-prisoner with William Robinson at Boston, having gone thither to seek a vessel bound for England. After an imprisonment of two months he was liberated, and taking passage in a vessel about to sail for Great Britain, he reached his home in safety. A few months after his return to England, he was united in marriage to Mary Scott, mentioned in the register as of "Boston, in New England," and the marriage was solemnized at Olveston, near Bristol, in Sixth Month, 1660. Mary Scott was the daughter of Richard and Katherine Scott of Providence.

Christopher Holder repeatedly visited America,† and it was the lot of this faithful minister, whilst travelling in distant countries, to endure a large amount of suffering and trial in the cause of his Great Master. On his return from America, he also suffered severely for his testimony to the truth. In the Third Month, 1682, he was again committed to Ilchester gaol for refusing to swear. After two months, he was premunured, and was continued a prisoner for more than four years and a half, till the Twelfth Month, 1685, when he was released with a large number of Friends in different parts of the country, under the general discharge granted by James II. He died about two years afterwards. In the burial

* William Robinson's letter, Fifth Month, 1659.

† Vide letter of Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell, 1669, Swarthmore MSS., and Journal of George Fox, 1672.

register, his death is thus recorded, "Christopher Holder of Puddimore, in the county of Somerset, died at Ircott, in the parish of Almondsbury, on the 13th of Fourth Month, 1688, and was buried at Hazell." Having been described as "a young man," during his first visit to New England, his age probably did not exceed sixty. He was a minister about thirty-three years, and to him, we doubt not, the language of the Psalmist may be fitly applied, "mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

JOHN COPELAND.

The relation of the visit of the eight Friends to New England, in the summer of 1656, contains the first reference that appears to John Copeland. Like his beloved companion, Christopher Holder, he was at that time young and unmarried: he is also spoken of as having been "well educated." His residence appears to have been in Holderness, in Yorkshire, and hence the probability of his early acquaintance with Robert Fowler of Bridlington Quay, in that county, a fellow-labourer in the gospel, and in whose little vessel he again visited America in 1657. How long John Copeland was absent from his native land during this visit it is difficult to ascertain; but in the latter part of 1658, he was at Sandwich, in company with Josiah Cole, when they were violently taken from a Friend's house and carried to prison. In 1661, we meet with him in London,* and in 1667, he married. In the register of his marriage he is described as of "Lockington, North Cave, in the county of York." His wife dying about eight years after their union, he married a second time, in 1677. Ten years later, we find him again in America; in a letter addressed to George Fox from that land, he is mentioned as being in Virginia. After his return from this visit, he entered, in 1691, for the third time into the marriage covenant. It pleased Him, who holdeth the breath of every living thing, to grant to this dear Friend, length of days; and having survived his first visit to North America, more than sixty years, he had reason to

* Sewel, p. 279.

rejoice, that the cause for which he both laboured and suffered, had spread itself widely among the settlers in that land. He died on the 9th of First Month, 1718, and was buried at North Cave.

JOHN ROUS.

John Rous was the son of Thomas Rous, a wealthy sugar planter of Barbadoes, and both father and son were among the early members of our religious Society in that island. At the time of John Rous's visit to New England, he was evidently but a young man. After his release from Boston gaol, in the Eighth Month, 1658, except a visit which he paid to the island of Nevis* towards the close of that year, we lose all trace of him until his marriage with Margaret, the eldest daughter of Judge Fell, which was solemnized at Swarthmore Hall, in the First Month, 1662. On his marriage John Rous settled in London, in which, and its vicinity, he appears to have resided during the remainder of his life. But few particulars of the life of John Rous have been preserved, and except a visit to the county of Kent in 1670, accompanied by Alexander Parker and George Whitehead; to Barbadoes in the following year with George Fox; and to the counties of York and Durham in 1689,† we know nothing of his gospel labours after he settled in England. In his will, which is dated from Kingston in the county of Surrey, "October, 1692," he describes himself as a merchant, and his property, which it appears was considerable, lay chiefly in Barbadoes. It is singular that no record of his death has been found, but as his will was proved in 1695, the probability is that it took place in that year.

THOMAS HARRIS.

The particulars given of the visit of Thomas Harris to New England is about all that we know of his history. As he is mentioned as "of Barbadoes," he must have been one of the earliest who embraced the views of our religious Society on that island.

* Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii. p. 352.

† Letter of John Rous to George Fox, 1689.

ROBERT FOWLER.

The biographical sketches of the early ministers of the Society, who were instrumental in the introduction and spread of its principles in New England, may be suitably followed by some allusion to Robert Fowler, the master and owner of the "Woodhouse." His home was at Bridlington Quay, in Yorkshire, his business being that of a mariner. A record in an ancient minute book of the Monthly Meeting of Holderness, entitled "A memorial of the first manifestation of the truth in the eastern parts of Yorkshire," written, as it professes, "for the view of posterity," states that Robert Fowler, "with many others gladly received the word of life in the year 1652." "Great fear and dread and the power of the Lord," continues the account, "wrought mightily in us, and made the strong man bow himself, and the keepers of the house to tremble, and those that were patient and staid in the light and power of God, increased in their faith, and loved one another fervently out of a pure heart, so that nothing was lacking unto any ; for self-denial, the true simplicity of the gospel, and charity which thinks no evil, flourished amongst us, and the wiles of Satan were manifest, and a way to escape his snares was seen in the light ; for the Lord anointed us with his Holy Spirit, and that led us into truth and righteousness ; and some were fitted to labour in his vineyard—unto the Lord be all the praise and glory, for it is his due, through all ages and generations."

In 1656, whilst building his little vessel, he became strongly impressed with the belief, that it would be required for some particular service in furtherance of the cause of truth ;—an impression, which, as we have seen, was remarkably realized. It was in the summer of 1657 that he landed his devoted friends on the shores of North America, and, as in the following year we find him for "some weeks a close prisoner" in Lincolnshire, for exhorting an assembly in one of the national places of worship, we may conclude that he returned without much delay from that country. The first notice of his exercising a gift in the ministry occurs in 1658 ; there is, nevertheless, good reason to believe, that he was for some years before, engaged in this im-

portant work. In the Eleventh Month of 1660, whilst assembled with his friends at Bridlington Quay, for the solemn purpose of worship, he was seized and carried to York Castle for refusing to take the "oath of allegiance," a snare which the enemies of the Society in that day, used to a great extent, and by which many thousands of its members were subjected to imprisonment ; at one time in 1660, no less than 4230 Friends were confined in the gaols and castles of the kingdom. His imprisonment on this occasion lasted about two months. The year following his committal to York Castle, we find that he was violently taken from a meeting at South Shields, and confined for four weeks in one of the dismal holes of Tynemouth Castle. Robert Fowler, it appears, had six children, the youngest of whom was born in 1665, and after this date we are unable to trace the incidents of his Christian course. The following indorsement made by George Fox on a letter which he received from Robert Fowler, but which is without date, contains the only remaining facts we have been able to gather respecting him :—" Robert Fowler, who often went to the steeple houses to declare the truth, and was a master of a ship, and died in the truth, and was often in prison for it." The fulness of George Fox's brief testimony needs no comment ; he "died in the truth." The date of his decease has not been ascertained.

CHAPTER VIII.

The sufferings of Friends of New England—Hored Gardner's visit to Boston—Her sufferings there—Katherine Scott (sister of Anne Hutchinson) goes on a religious visit to Boston—Is imprisoned and scourged—Her character—The sufferings of Arthur Howland—The sufferings of Friends at Sandwich—The humane conduct of Cudworth and Hatherly, two magistrates of Scituate—The sufferings of Friends at Salem—The case of Edward Harnett—Six Friends of Salem imprisoned for attending a meeting; four of whom are scourged, and two have their ears cut off—The sufferings of Nicholas Phelps—Further persecution of Salem Friends—The persecution of William Shattock of Boston, and William Marston of Hampton—A review of the progress of the Society in the colonies of New England—The population of the province.

Our attention in the preceding chapters, has been chiefly directed to the proceedings and treatment of those gospel ministers who had crossed the Atlantic, to promulgate the spiritual views of the Society of Friends, among the settlers in New England. We now enter upon the subject of the religious labours and sufferings of those in that land, who had embraced their views. The first of this class to be noticed, is Hored Gardner of Newport, on Rhode Island. In 1658, this faithful woman, under an apprehension of religious duty, left her family, consisting of "many children," to go on a visit to Weymouth, in the province of Massachusetts. This trial of her faith was rendered additionally severe, from her having at the time, a young infant to care for. Concluding to travel on foot, she took a girl with her to assist in carrying and caring for her child. Her journey was through a wilderness of above sixty miles, and "according to man," as a writer of the day remarks, "hardly accomplishable."* She was, however, favoured

* New England Judged, p. 47.

to reach Weymouth in safety ; her ministry was well received ; “the witness in the people answering to her words.”* It was scarcely to be expected that, travelling thus in the same holy cause which had subjected her friends in the ministry, from England, to fines, whippings, imprisonments and banishments, she should herself escape persecution ; and accordingly, on the day after her arrival at Weymouth, she was placed under arrest, and conveyed to Boston. Endicott, who had recently evinced his hatred to Quakers, by causing Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh, to be imprisoned and whipped, on seeing a New England proselyte to Quakerism, brought before him for promulgating its doctrines, broke forth into abusive language to the prisoner, and ordered both her and her young attendant, to receive ten lashes “on their naked bodies.” This species of punishment towards females, is at all times revolting, but in the present instance, it was rendered additionally so from the fact, that during its infliction, the innocent babe of Hored Gardner was on her breast, protected only by the arms of its agonized mother. The whipping being over, the scene was quickly changed, and instead of the sound of the knotted scourge, the voice of prayer arose from the unoffending sufferer, that her persecutors might be forgiven ; for she said that “they knew not what they did.” The meek christian spirit thus strikingly displayed, struck the bystanders with astonishment. “Surely,” said one of them, “if she has not the spirit of the Lord, she could not do this thing.”† They were at once conveyed to Boston gaol, in which they were confined for fourteen days, all communication with her Friends being strictly forbidden. One of the early sufferers in New England, in commenting on this heartless case, observes, that such instances distinctly mark the difference between the faith of those who professed with the maltreated Quakers, and that of their persecutors :—“the one, manifesting theirs through travails, trials, patience and sufferings ; the other, through wrath, malice, cruel mockings, reviling language, scourgings, and imprisonments.” And he adds, “whether of these faiths stands in God, seeing there is but one Lord and

* Norton's Ensign, p. 72.

† Ibid, p. 72.

one faith unto salvation, we leave it unto that of God in all people to judge.”*

The next sufferer whom we shall notice, is Katherine Scott of Providence, who in the Seventh Month, 1658, proceeded to Boston, to testify against the cruel proceedings of the magistracy towards Friends. Soon after her arrival, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, and John Rous, having been sentenced to the loss of their ears, Katherine Scott believed it to be her religious duty to remonstrate with the rulers on this barbarous act. For her christian boldness, however, she was imprisoned for three weeks, and also subjected to the ignominious torture of the lash. In the course of her examination, being told that they were likely to have a law to hang her if she came there again, she said, “If God call us, woe be to us if we come not; and I question not but He whom we love, will make us not count our lives dear unto ourselves, for the sake of His name.” Endicott maliciously replied, “And we shall be as ready to take away your lives, as ye shall be to lay them down.”†

The case of Katherine Scott derives additional interest from the fact of her being a woman of considerable note and standing in New England. She was a sister of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson,‡ the leader of the Antinomians, and of John Wheelwright, both of whom were banished from Massachusetts in 1637, for their religious opinions. A narrator of Katherine Scott's sufferings, describes her as “a grave, sober, ancient woman, of blameless conversation,” and of good education and circumstances.§ Hutchinson the historian says, she “was well bred, being a minister's daughter in England.”|| Her husband, Richard Scott, and eight or nine of her children, also became convinced of our principles. “The power of God,” writes John Rous, “took place in all their children,”¶ One of her daughters spoke as a minister in the following year, although but eleven years of age.

Arthur Howland, an aged and venerable settler, residing at Marshfield in the colony of Plymouth, was also a sufferer for his

* Norton's Ensign, p. 72.

† Norton's Ensign, p. 97.

‡ Secret Works, p. 10.

§ New England Judged, p. 75.

|| Hutchinson's Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 200.

¶ Norton's Ensign, p. 95.

conscientious attachment to the principles of the new Society. He was one of those who had long sought the Lord, and "Simeon like," had waited for his salvation. Convinced that a ministry for hire, and of mere human appointment, was a fearful usurpation of the prerogative of the Great Head of the Church, he felt bound to bear a christian testimony against it, by declining any longer to contribute towards its support. His conscientious refusal, however, subjected him to considerable loss. The minister, incensed by this innovation, and copying the example of those of his order in the mother country, forcibly seized upon his property. In 1658, Robert Hodgson, in the course of his religious engagements visited Marshfield, and was warmly received by Arthur Howland. The good old man, believing the stranger to be a disciple of Christ, entertained him gladly; having faith in the declaration of our Lord to his disciples, "He that receiveth you, receiveth me: and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me."* Whilst Robert Hodgson was there, a constable came to the house to arrest him. The aged Friend, feeling bound to do what he could to protect his guest, demanded of the officer a warrant of his authority. The constable replied that he had none, but that the magistrate would justify him in taking a Quaker without one. Arthur Howland, seeing that he had no legal authority for proceeding, told the officer that, in accordance with the constitution of the colony, and the allegiance which he owed to the Protector, he should resist his attempt; and the constable, thus unexpectedly opposed, left the house. The local magistrates, vexed at losing their prey, and at the course adopted by Arthur Howland, fined him five pounds; to satisfy which, a distrait was made upon his cattle. "But such was their rage at the old man," observes Bishop, "that this would not satisfy them." A commitment to prison soon followed the fine. These arbitrary measures, being considered by the sufferer as an invasion of the rights of a British subject, and at variance with the colonial laws of the empire, he demanded his liberty, in order that he might "repair to England, to make his case known to the powers."† His appeal, however, was unheeded, and had not a brother interfered, and obtained his release "by giving a bond," the aged

* Matthew x. 40.

† Secret Works, p. 5.

colonist would have had to endure the severity of a winter season within the precincts of a prison.

Among the early converts to the Society in New England, were some who resided at Sandwich, and who had been convinced in 1657. William Newland and Ralph Allen were two of these, and their attachment to the principles which they had embraced, was soon tested by suffering. Both of them were called to serve on a jury, and, acting on the injunction of their Lord, "Swear not at all," they declined to take the oath. William Newland was fined ten shillings for his refusal; and on his request, during the sitting of the court, that his friends Christopher Holder and John Copeland, might be furnished with a copy of the warrant on which they had been arrested, he was fined another ten shillings for his interference: a distress was levied on his goods for the recovery of these sums. They were then arraigned before the court for keeping disorderly meetings at their houses. The charge, it appears, rested on the fact of a few Friends having met in silence to wait upon God. Their so assembling, however, being viewed by the magistrates as a grave offence, a fine of twenty shillings was imposed on each of the Friends, with an order, that they should find sureties in the sum of eighty pounds for their good behaviour during the ensuing six months. As an acquiescence in this demand would imply an acknowledgment of the offence, and a relinquishment of that spiritual worship of the Most High, which had become precious to them, they unhesitatingly refused to comply. They were then committed to the custody of the marshal, and were kept close prisoners for five months. When half the period had expired, they were offered their liberty on engaging not to receive or listen to a Quaker; but the request was met by an immediate and a decided negative. Their settlement in the truth was too firm to be shaken by offers of this description.

Towards the close of 1657, the individuals who had been newly convinced at Sandwich, suffered considerably for continuing to meet for the purpose of religious worship. This little company included the six brothers and sisters of Ralph Allen just referred to. The father of the family, who had been an Anabaptist, and

had also entertained a conscientious scruple against judicial swearing, had "laid down his head in peace" before Friends had visited those parts. His children had resided upwards of twenty years in Sandwich and its vicinity, and were much respected by their neighbours. But their reception of Quakerism was peculiarly annoying to the ministers and magistracy, whose persecuting hand was specially directed against them: the only individuals to whom the "oath of fidelity" was tendered, being those of this family.

In 1658, the sufferings of Friends of Sandwich were much aggravated by increased distrains on their goods, and by being prevented from holding their religious meetings. The levies were made for fines, on account of their conscientious refusal to take the "oath of fidelity," tendered purposely to ensnare them; and also for absence from the public worship. In the Eighth Month, sixteen Friends of this place were summoned to the court held at Plymouth, and were fined five pounds each for refusing to take the oath. Some of them had been fined already on the same charge.* Some of

* Besse records the following distrains made about this period from Friends resident in and near Sandwich, to satisfy the fines imposed:—

Robert Harper	£44	0	0
Joseph Allen	5	12	0
Edward Perry	89	18	0
George Allen	25	15	0
William Gifford	57	19	0
William Newland	36	0	0
Ralph Allen, Jun.	18	0	0
John Jenkins	19	10	0
Henry Howland	1	10	0
Ralph Allen, Sen.	68	0	0
Thomas Greenfield	4	0	0
Richard Kirby	57	12	0
William Allen	86	17	0
Thomas Ewer	25	8	0
Daniel Wing	12	0	0
Peter Gaunt	43	14	6
Michael Turner	13	10	0
John Newland	2	6	0
Matthew Allen	48	16	0

£660 7 6

these faithful sufferers, alluding to the persecution to which they were subjected for refusing the oath, remark, that it was "contrary to the law of Christ," "whose law," they add, "is so strongly written in our hearts, and the keeping of it so delightful to us; and the gloriousness of its life daily appearing, makes us to endure the cross patiently, and suffer the spoiling of our goods with joy."*

While recording the sufferings of those who professed with Friends in the colony of Plymouth, we must not omit to notice the case of Cudworth and Hatherly, the two magistrates of Scituate. These worthy men appear never to have joined our religious Society, but being enlightened on the subject of religious toleration, and rejoicing in the extension of the kingdom of the Redeemer by whatever means He might use, they not only boldly opposed the authorities of New England in persecuting Friends, but also welcomed those who came to Scituate, and entertained them at their houses. This liberality was offensive to the rigid professors of Massachusetts, and several attempts being made to displace them from the magistracy, they both ultimately resigned their appointments. "He that will not whip and lash, persecute and punish men that differ in matters of religion," says one of them, "must not sit on the bench." Cudworth, who held a military captainship was discharged, "because," he says, "I entertained some of the Quakers at my house."

Turning from the Friends of Plymouth to their fellow-professors in the other part of Massachusetts, we find that suffering was also their lot for the cause of truth. The banishment of Nicholas Upshal from Boston in 1656, and the imprisonment of Samuel Shattock, and of Laurence and Cassandra Southwick of Salem, in the following year, have already been mentioned. Towards the close of 1657, the Salem Friends suffered severely for maintaining their meetings; and in order, as Bishop says, "to terrify the rest," the magistrates subjected Laurence and Cassandra Southwick, with their son Josiah, to a cruel whipping and an imprisonment for eleven days, for absenting themselves from public worship; and in the meanwhile, goods to the value of four pounds thirteen

* Norton's Ensign, p. 42.

shillings were taken from them for fines on account of such absence.*

Another who suffered at Salem, was Edward Harnet, a settler aged nearly seventy years. So many fines were levied upon him for not attending the authorised place of worship, as to make it probable that all the little property which he possessed, and which was his main dependence in declining life, would be sacrificed to the cruelty and rapacity of his enemies. To prevent this result, he felt free to emigrate to Rhode Island, after disposing of his house and land ;† and several others, who were similarly harassed, concluded to leave the scene of persecution. John Small, Josiah Southwick, and John Buffum were of this number, and whilst proceeding to Rhode Island, in order to fix upon some spot in this favoured province, on which to settle with their families, they were arrested and carried to Boston. This, however, was an outrage on the liberty of the colonist, which even the intolerant Endicott refused to sanction ; and on appealing to him the Friends were liberated.

Reference has been made in a previous chapter to a meeting held by William Brend and William Leddra, at the house of Nicholas Phelps, in the woods, about five miles from Salem, and to a threat made by one of the authorities who attended, that he would prosecute the Friends who were present. The threatening magistrate, true to his intolerant purpose, applied to the court then sitting at Salem, for an order to arrest six of the Friends who were present at the meeting in question. The application was readily responded to, and in a short time Samuel Shattock, Laurence and Cassandra Southwick, their son Josiah, Samuel Gaskin, and Joshua Buffum, were seized by the officers. After an imprisonment of two days, they were brought before the court for examination. The charges preferred against them were, for absenting themselves from public worship—for assembling by themselves, and for meeting with the Quakers. They were committed, and sent to join William Brend and William Leddra, who were already in Salem prison.

* F. Howgill's Popish Inquisition, p. 35.

† Ibid, p. 34.

A few days after the committal of the six Friends, a warrant was issued to convey them all to Boston, and on the 2nd of the Fifth Month, preparations were made for the purpose. The Friends of Salem, finding that their companions were about to be separated from them, and conveyed to a place already notorious for scenes of persecution, came to take a sorrowing farewell of the sufferers; and "before our departure," remarks one of them, "the Lord gathered us together, and we had a meeting of Friends some part of the way thither."* They were all on foot, and as the little company proceeded towards Boston, the solemnity of a religious meeting was maintained. When the time came for them to part, the prisoners engaged in prayer, and committed themselves in faith to the sustaining arm of the Shepherd of Israel. Having arrived at Boston, four of the Salem Friends were sentenced to undergo the cruelties of the lash, from which even Cassandra Southwick was not exempted. For Laurence Southwick and his son Josiah, the remaining two, a more severe punishment was reserved. In accordance with the last revolting law against Quakers, they both suffered the loss of their ears.

Being detained as prisoners after the liberation of the English Friends who were committed about the same period, the six Friends drew up a remonstrance to the court at Salem, under whose authority they had been sent to gaol. "Let it not be a small thing in your eyes," said they, "thus to expose, as much as in you lies, our families to ruin—as for our parts, we have true peace and rest in the Lord in all our sufferings, and are made willing in the power and strength of God, freely to offer up our lives in his cause, yea, and we find (through grace) the enlargement of God in our imprisoned state, to whom alone we commit ourselves and our families, for the disposing of us, according to his infinite wisdom and pleasure; in whose love is our rest and life."† The Christian meekness and patience breathed in the language of these faithful individuals, and the inward peace and consolation which they enjoyed amid their sufferings, strikingly exemplifies the gracious promise of our Redeemer, "In

* Norton's Ensign, p. 76.

† New England Judged, p. 60.

the world ye shall have tribulation, but in me peace." The court, on receiving the remonstrance, directed the liberation of the prisoners, excepting the Southwicks, who were continued under close confinement for twenty weeks.

Previously to the holding of the meeting at his house, Nicholas Phelps, being convinced of the spiritual character of divine worship, had absented himself from the public assemblies, and had been fined five shillings per week, for thus adhering to his religious convictions. Having rendered himself additionally obnoxious to the magistracy by allowing meetings to be held at his house, he was summoned before the court held at Salem, in the Fifth Month, 1658.* The presence of Quakers in New England being adverted to, one of the justices, with a view to prejudice the court against them, remarked, that they denied both magistrates and ministers. Nicholas Phelps, hearing the charge, and being sensible of its injustice, undertook to disprove it, and presented to the bench, a paper setting forth the sentiments of the Society on those questions. The document being read, and its contents found to be opposed to puritan opinions, the minds of the bigoted rulers were further incensed, and they determined that Nicholas Phelps should suffer for thus boldly advocating heresy. He was now asked, if he owned the document, and answering in the affirmative, was fined forty shillings for the paper, also forty shillings for having had a meeting at his house, and was finally committed to Ipswich gaol for being a Quaker.† The gaoler of Ipswich, following the example of his fellow-official at Boston, ordered Nicholas Phelps to work, and having received a refusal to his unjust demand, subjected him to three severe whippings in the short space of five days. The punishment inflicted upon this conscientious man was the more cruel in consequence of the very weak state of his health, and a physical deformity under which he laboured, but he endured it all with christian meekness and patience, and "being strong in faith,"‡ "all their cruelty

* F. Howgill's Popish Inquisition, p. 38.

† New England Judged, p. 61.

‡ F. Howgill's Popish Inquisition, p. 38.

could not bend his spirit, for the Lord upheld him.”* The magistrates, finding that their prisoner was not to be shaken from his resolutions, either by fines, whippings, or imprisonments, seemed anxious to give up the fruitless task of attempting to reduce him to orthodoxy, and after fourteen days’ confinement, he was set at liberty. This imprisonment, being in the time of harvest, occasioned him considerable loss.

In the Seventh Month, 1658, Joshua Buffum and Samuel Shattock, who had been but lately released from an imprisonment of twenty weeks, were committed to Ipswich gaol with Nicholas Phelps, for holding a meeting in the vicinity of Salem. They were detained on this occasion for three weeks, and were also severely scourged. In addition to these severities, Samuel Shattock had “half of his house and the ground belonging to it”† seized for the fines imposed—a very unusual and unwarranted stretch of arbitrary power. He was a man in good circumstances, and is spoken of as “the most considerable man at Salem.” But, said he, in a letter to a friend, “In the Lord I rejoice, that I have something to suffer the loss of, for the Truth’s sake.”‡ A few days only had elapsed, after the liberation of these Friends, when with Laurence, Cassandra and Josiah Southwick, they were forcibly taken and carried to Boston, to hear from the lips of the authorities of that town, a law which they had just enacted, for banishing Friends on pain of death. Francis Howgill, alluding to the sufferings of Friends at Salem, says, “Now after all this there was a court held at Salem, the last day of November, 1658. This court sent for about fifteen of the inhabitants for not coming to their meeting, twelve of whom did appear; of these, nine were fined for sixteen weeks’ absence £4. a-piece; one was fined £3. 15s., and one £1. The sum of what was fined by this court, was £40. 15s.”§

We now pass on to Boston. This was much the most considerable town in the two colonies of Massachusetts,—the seat of government of one of them, and conspicuous, above all other places in New England, for bigotry and for excessive persecutions. The

* Norton’s Ensign, p. 81.

† Ibid, p. 103.

‡ F. Howgill’s Popish Inquisition, p. 60.

§ Ibid, p. 43.

cruelty of Endicott and Bellingham towards the gospel messengers of the new Society, naturally led to much inquiry respecting the principles of Friends: but the watchful and unceasing efforts of the authorities, prevented those who came from publicly advocating the truth, as they had been enabled to do at Salem, Sandwich, and some other places in Massachusetts. To this cause may be attributed the few convincements which took place at Boston. From the time of Nicholas Upshal's banishment in 1656, to the close of 1658, but one of the inhabitants openly professed with Friends. This individual was William Shattock. Being convinced that the worship of the Divine Being must be performed in spirit and in truth, and that ability to preach or pray aright must be waited for, instead of frequenting the usual place of divine worship, he sought retirement for this purpose in his own dwelling. His non-attendance of public worship was soon noticed by the jealous eye of the rulers, and in the First Month of 1658, he was arrested for the offence, and brought before the court. Endicott, who presided, after questioning him on several points, sentenced him to be taken to the house of correction—to be severely whipped, and to be kept from all intercourse with his friends and neighbours. William Shattock was but poor as to the things of this world, and, having a wife and four children who were dependent upon his labour, the case of his family became truly distressing. Under these urgent circumstances, the wife of William Shattock interceded for his liberation, but the authorities, bent on clearing their capital at least, of "heretics," replied, that until he promised to leave the colony, the prison would be his habitation, and that his children would be taken and placed in servitude. In this painful situation, William Shattock "sought counsel of the Lord," and, he observes, "their arm of cruelty was so great, I found freedom to depart." The magistrates, impatient for his banishment, allowed him but three days to prepare for his departure. Thus exiled from Massachusetts, he proceeded to Rhode Island, where he found a peaceful home for himself and his family, and once more Boston appeared to be free from the "accursed heretics."

In these details, the case of William Marston of Hampton must not be forgotten. Notwithstanding the precautions taken

by the authorities, to prevent the introduction and circulation of the writings of Friends, means had, it appears, been found for their distribution. William Marston was suspected of having some of these in his possession; his house was searched, and a copy of William Dewsbury's "Mighty day of the Lord," and of John Lilburne's "Resurrection," being found, he was subjected to the excessive fine of £10. Subsequently, he was "rated in the sum of £3. to the priest for his wages," and also fined £5. for absence from the authorised worship. To satisfy these claims, goods to the value of £20. were taken from him.*

In concluding the present chapter, which brings this narrative down to the close of 1658, being about two years and a-half from the time of the first landing of Friends in New England, it may be well to consider the extent of the footing which their principles had obtained in that country. Very early after the landing of the few gospel messengers from the "Woodhouse," meetings for worship were established and regularly kept up at Providence, and on Rhode Island. Of the number of members which constituted those meetings at this early period, it is difficult to speak with much precision: they could not, however, have been inconsiderable. Already several of their number had received a gift in the ministry, and four had travelled, in the exercise of that gift, to the neighbouring colonies of New England. The official documents of Rhode Island, as early as the First Month of 1658, alluding to the visits of English Friends, state that they had "raised up divers who seem to be of their spirit."† We must not forget, however, that Friends there, so far from experiencing persecution from the authorities, were received by them with favour. William Coddington and Nicholas Easton who had both filled the office of governor of the colony, inclined towards them from the first, and soon after, openly professed with them: meetings for worship, and also the Yearly Meetings, were held at the house of the former at Newport until the time of his decease in 1688.‡

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 195.

† Letter from the "General Assembly of the colony of Providence Plantations" to their agent in England.

‡ Morse and Parish's History of New England, p. 88.

The spread of Quakerism, however, in other parts of New England, was not dependent, as has been already seen, on the smiles of its rulers. An opposite policy in Massachusetts signally failed to suppress the rising society, and the persecutions in its two intolerant colonies, seemed fruitful in results. "Their patience under it," observes James Cudworth, in writing of the sufferers to his friend in London, "hath sometimes been the occasion of gaining more adherents to them, than if they had been suffered openly to preach a sermon."* At Sandwich, where the magistracy harassed them with great severity, the largest meeting in New England was held. It is stated that in 1658, no less than eighteen families of this place recorded their names in one of the documents of the Society.† Meetings were also held at Duxbury,‡ and some other places in this jurisdiction, whilst convincements had taken place at Marshfield and Barnstable; and at Scituate its ministers found a welcome reception from the local authorities. A magistrate of this latter town, addressing his friend, in 1658, thus remarks in reference to the progress of the Society, "They have many meetings, and many adherents, almost the whole town of Sandwich is adhering towards them." "I am informed," he adds "of three or four-score last court presented for not coming to public meetings."§ In the more persecuting colony of Boston, many had also received the spiritual views of the Society, and rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer for so holy a cause. It is true, that in the town of Boston, whilst many sympathized with the sufferers, under the revolting cruelties to which they were subjected, two individuals only openly professed with Friends, and these two had been banished from the colony. At Hampton the truth had found an entrance; during 1658, a family at this place suffered largely in distrains for their testimony.|| But it

* Secret Works, p. 21

† See Brief Account of Meetings in New England. Providence, Printed 1836, p. 20.

‡ Norton's Ensign, p. 49.

§ Letter of J. Cudworth,—See Secret Works, p. 20, and Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 321.

|| F. Howgill's Popish Inquisition, p. 42.

was at and near Salem, about sixteen miles north of Boston, that the largest number of convictions in this colony took place. In 1657, it is stated that there were "divers Friends" in that locality. During the summer of 1658, the sufferings of eight families are distinctly recorded, and in the Ninth Month, fifteen individuals were summoned at one time to the court held at Salem, for not attending the Puritan meetings. Neal states, that about this time as many as twenty were taken at once from a meeting held at the house of Nicholas Phelps, about five miles from Salem.* Joscelyn, in his chronological observations on America at this period, remarks, that "the Quakers' opinions were vented up and down the country,"† and John Rous writing to Margaret Fell, from New England, observes, "the truth is spread here above two hundred miles, many are in a fine condition, and very sensible of the power of God, and some of the inhabitants who are Friends, have been forth in the ministry. We have," he continues, "two strong places in this land, the one at Newport in Rhode Island, and the other at Sandwich. At Salem, there are several pretty Friends in their measures—there are Friends, few or more, almost from one end of the land to the other, that is inhabited by the English."‡

In noticing the progress of the Society at this early period in New England, it should be borne in mind, that, being a newly settled country, its towns were few, and the number of its population was comparatively small. In 1643, there were but thirty-six churches, or places of authorized worship, in New England; in 1650, there were forty, containing 7750 communicants.§ Twenty-five years later, the whole population of Massachusetts and Rhode Island did not exceed 33,000.|| The settlements were chiefly agricultural communities, planted near the sea-side, or on the rivers, and cultivation had not extended far into the interior.

* Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 304.

† See Massachusetts, Hist. Society's Pub. vol. iii. 3rd Series.

‡ Swarthmore Collection of MSS.

§ Morse and Parish's History of New England, p. 165.

|| Bancroft's History of the United States.

CHAPTER IX.

The priests and rulers of Boston petition the colonial legislature for a law to banish Friends on pain of death—The proceedings of the authorities respecting it—The law is passed by a majority of one vote—A copy of the law—W. Brend and six Friends of Salem banished under its provisions—Daniel and Provided Southwick, for not attending Puritan worship, are fined and ordered to be sold as slaves—The authorities are unable to carry out the sentence—Samuel Gaskin ordered to be sold as a slave—The constabulary empowered to break open the doors of those suspected to be Quakers—William Leddra and Peter Pearson are imprisoned at Plymouth—Letter of Peter Pearson—William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson arrive at Rhode Island—They proceed to Boston, and are imprisoned—Nicholas Davis and Patience Scott also go to Boston, and are imprisoned—Some account of Patience Scott, who came forth in the ministry when eleven years of age—Observations on the ministry of young persons—Extract of a Letter from William Robinson to George Fox, written in Boston gaol.

For two years had the rulers of the church and of the state in New England been strenuous in their endeavours to check the introduction and spread of Quakerism, and lent themselves to acts of great cruelty in pursuance of their purpose. The various laws, however, which they had passed for this object, all signally failed, for, notwithstanding the opposition which it had to encounter, the little Society rapidly increased in numbers, and neither imprisonments, whippings, nor banishments, deterred its ministers from preaching their doctrines among the colonists. "Such was the enthusiastic fire of the Quakers," observes an early historian of the country, "that nothing could quench it: the sect grew under these disadvantages."*

The bigoted religionists of Massachusetts, alarmed at the progress of these innovations, and disappointed in their exertions to prevent them, now suffered themselves, in their deep-rooted aver-

* Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 306.

sion to dissent from the authorised religion, to be led on to the commission of extreme acts of persecution ; and the ministers, among whom the notorious Norton of Boston,* was foremost, petitioned the local legislature to banish Friends upon pain of death. The magistrates of the colony, who had evinced an eagerness in the work of persecution, listened to the unchristian suggestion ; and, at their general court held at Boston in the Eighth Month, 1658, the inhuman statute was enacted for exiling all Friends, both colonists and strangers, on pain of death. The laws of the British nation, based on the foundation of Magna Charta, made it imperative that the life of the subject should not be taken without trial by jury ; but the authorities of Massachusetts, to forward their wicked purpose of exterminating this harmless people, thus arbitrarily setting aside this safeguard of liberty, resolved that the awful sentence of death might be passed by a majority of a county court, consisting of even three magistrates only.

The legislature of the colony consisted of two houses, the one composed of the magistracy, and the other of representatives elected by the freemen of the respective towns ; each house being independent of the other. To enact a law, a majority of both houses was necessary ; the magisterial one, therefore, having passed the law in question, sent it to the representatives for confirmation. The deputies, however, were much divided in opinion on the proposed measure. Several of them had viewed with dissatisfaction the harsh and unchristian laws already passed in reference to Friends ; but the extreme severity of the bill in question was such, that, out of twenty-six members of their house, fifteen were decidedly opposed to it. This becoming known, the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, being determined to carry their bold and wicked scheme, exerted all the power and influence they possessed, to induce the representatives to pass the extirpating enactment. Their efforts were unhappily successful ; two of the deputies were prevailed upon to alter their opinions,† and, in the absence, through illness of a third, (a deacon named Wozel,) who was opposed to the

* Oldmixon in his "British Empire in America," says "Norton was at the head of all the Quakers' sufferings" in New England.

† Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 307.

proposition, the assembly of twenty-five representatives passed the sanguinary law by a majority of one; thirteen being for it, whilst the speaker and eleven others were opposed to it.* The absent member, it appears, felt such a conscientious repugnance to the proposed measure, that, although suffering from severe indisposition, he determined, nevertheless, to be present when the votes on the question should be taken; and "he earnestly desired the speaker and some of the deputies, to send for him when the time came;"† but to nullify his opposition, care had been taken by those favourable to the bill, to divide before he could arrive.‡ Wozel, being informed of the stratagem which had thus been practised, and of the law having been carried by a majority of one voice only, which his presence would have negatived, hastened to the assembly, and, expressing his sorrow that it should have passed by his absence, desired his vote to be taken; and said that if he had not been able to go, he would have crept on his hands and knees to prevent it.§ But the exertions of the humane deputy were unavailing; his vote was refused, and the blood-stained and unconstitutional measure was published as the deliberate act of the legislature of Massachusetts.

The twelve deputies who had voted in the minority, having entered their protest against the law, as being repugnant to those of the realm, the magistrates, fearful of proceeding under such circumstances, subsequently agreed to an amendment of the law, and admitted trial by special jury. The lives of some of the most conscientious inhabitants of New England were now placed in the hands of men who were known to be their most determined foes, and who were vindictively bent on their destruction. Such was the legislation of those who, to erect a church free from all the blemishes of popery, and to escape the persecuting hand of Laud, had fled to the wilds of America; but, says a modern historian, "Laud was justified by the men whom he had wronged."|| The "foul enactment," contrary to the laws both of God and man, and from which the mind turns with feelings of abhorrence, will go down to posterity as a monument of lasting disgrace to Puritan New

* Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 307.

† New England Judged, p. 80. ‡ Ibid, p. 80. § Sewel, p. 198.

|| Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 190.

England. What a humiliating proof does this dark transaction furnish, of the extent to which man may err, through haughty self-righteousness, and a mistaken and fiery zeal for certain religious opinions. The law was as follows :—

AN ACT MADE AT A GENERAL COURT HELD AT BOSTON, THE
20TH OF OCTOBER, 1658.

“ Whereas, there is a pernicious sect, commonly called Quakers, lately arisen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals or reverence to superiors, whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from orderly church-fellowship, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of truth, and instead thereof, and in opposition thereunto, frequently meeting by themselves, insinuating themselves into the minds of the simple, or such as are at least affected to the order and government of church and commonwealth, whereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected, notwithstanding all former laws made upon the experience of their arrogant and bold obtrusions, to disseminate their principles amongst us, prohibiting their coming into this jurisdiction, they have not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace and hazard our ruin.

“ For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every person or persons of the *cursed sect of Quakers*, who is not an inhabitant of, but is found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended without warrant where no magistrate is at hand, by any constable, commissioner, or select man, and conveyed from constable to constable to the next magistrate, who shall commit the said person to close prison, there to remain (without bail) unto the next court of assistants, where they shall have a legal trial ; and being convicted to be of the sect of Quakers, shall be sentenced to be banished upon pain of death :

And that every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, either by taking up, publishing, or defending the horrid opinions of the Quakers, or the stirring up mutiny, sedition, or rebellion against the government, or by taking up their abusive and destructive practices, viz: denying civil respect to equals and superiors, and withdrawing from our church assemblies, and instead thereof frequenting meetings of their own in opposition to our church order, or by adhering to or approving of any known Quaker, and the tenets and practices of the Quakers that are opposite to the orthodox received opinions of the godly, and endeavouring to disaffect others to civil government and church order, or condemning the proceedings and practices of this court against the Quakers, manifesting thereby their compliance with those whose design is to overthrow the order established in church and state; every such person, upon conviction before the said court of assistants *in manner aforesaid*, shall be committed to close prison for one month, and then, unless they choose voluntarily to depart this jurisdiction, shall give bond for their good behaviour, and appear at the next court, where continuing obstinate, and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death; and any one magistrate, upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended, and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial as aforesaid."

This wicked and sanguinary measure, although passed into law, from some cause or other, was not brought into operation for more than six months. Although congenial to the persecuting ecclesiastics and rulers of Boston, it was not so to the inhabitants generally. The dissatisfaction excited in the colony, by the barbarities recently inflicted upon the English Friends who had been banished, had not yet sufficiently subsided, to allow the authorities to exhibit with impunity, the revolting spectacle of the gallows in support of their religion.

The first individual upon whom the efficacy of the new law was tested, was William Brend, whilst on a visit to Boston in the

Third Month, 1659. This aged minister of Christ, whose scarred body testified abundantly to the severity of the persecutors of Massachusetts, was the first Friend who entered its territory after the passing of the act. Having received sentence of banishment on pain of death, and being informed by the authorities, that, if within two days he was found within the precincts of their jurisdiction, death would be his inevitable portion,* he returned to Rhode Island. His testimony to the truth had been most unflinching among the high professors of this land, and for his faithfulness he had already been brought near the gates of death; his withdrawal to Rhode Island therefore, must not be understood to have been in order to avoid an ignominious death, in violation of his duty, for his former course is opposed to such a conclusion: but rather let us believe that it was in compliance with the apprehended will of his Great Master on that particular occasion.

The next victims to the application of the barbarous law, were Nicholas Phelps, Joshua Buffum, Samuel Shattock, Laurence and Cassandra Southwick, and their son Josiah. These Friends all resided in and near Salem, and had already smarted under intolerance and tyranny. They had been twice imprisoned, some for ten, and others for twenty weeks; three had been once subjected to the lash, two others twice, and the remaining one no less than four times; whilst property to a large amount had been taken from them;† and all for not conforming to the dominant ideas in religion. The date of their arraignment under this act, was the 11th of the Third Month, 1659, and no specific charge having been made for their arrest, they desired the court to point out the crime of which they had been guilty. The governor replied, that "it was for contemning authority, in not coming to the ordinances of God, and for rebelling against the authority of the country in not departing according to their order."‡ In answer to this exposition of the governor, they said, "that they had no other place to go to, but had their wives, children, families, and estates, to look after, nor had they done any thing worthy of death, banishment, or bonds, or of any thing which they had

* Secret Works, p. 19. New England a Degenerate Plant, p. 8.

† New England Judged, p. 82.

‡ Besse, vol. ii. p. 197.

suffered.”* Conscience smitten with the truth of the prisoners’ reply, the governor remained silent, on which Denison, a Major-general, told them, that “they stood against the authority of the country in not submitting to their laws,” adding, “you and we are not able well to live together, and at present the power is in our hand, and, therefore, the stronger must fend off.”†

The six Friends were taken out of court, but in a short time were called back, and received the dreadful sentence of death, should their persons be found within the limits of the colony within two weeks from that day. The following, taken from the records of the General Court at Boston, is a copy of the minute on the occasion :—

AT A GENERAL COURT HELD AT BOSTON, THE 11TH OF MAY,
1659.

“It is ordered, that Laurence Southwick, and Cassandra his wife, Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, Joshua Buffum, and Josiah Southwick, are hereby sentenced, according to the order of the General Court in October last, to banishment, to depart out of this jurisdiction by the eighth day of June next, on pain of death; and if any of them after the said eighth day of June next, shall be found within this jurisdiction, they shall be apprehended by any constable or other officer of this jurisdiction, and be committed to close prison, there to lie till the next Court of Assistants, where they shall be tried, and being found guilty of the breach of this law, shall be put to death.”

The prisoners urged the necessity of a longer period to allow them to settle their affairs, and to find an opportunity of proceeding to England, but this reasonable request was denied, and they were ordered summarily to leave their country, their families and friends, to seek a home and subsistence in some land of strangers. Four days after, a vessel being about to sail for Barbadoes, Nicholas Phelps, Samuel Shattock and Josiah Southwick, embraced the opportunity it afforded for proceeding by that

* New England Jugged, p. 84.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 198.

route to England, to seek redress for these despotic proceedings. The aged Laurence and Cassandra Southwick took their course for Shelter Island, which lay at the eastern end of Long Island, and at that time belonged to Nathaniel Silvester, a Friend ;* whilst Joshua Buffum made his way to Rhode Island. The circumstance of being thus suddenly and rudely torn from their children, and banished from a home dear to them by many fond ties and recollections, was too great a shock for the aged Southwicks. Soon after reaching Shelter Island, and within three days of each other, the exiled couple were called from all the tribulations of time, in the good hope of a better and more peaceful inheritance.†

The family of the Southwicks, appear to have been the special objects of sectarian malignity ; which, not satisfied with driving the aged parents and their eldest son into banishment, now placed its unrelenting hand on the two remaining members of the family, a son Daniel, and a daughter named Provided. Daniel and Provided had wisely “ Remembered their Creator in the days of their youth ;” the cause of truth had become precious to them, and for its sake they were now orphans in the world. Their absence from public worship continued to bear a clear though negative testimony against its lifeless forms and ceremonies ; and for this offence, although it was well known that they had no estate of their own, and it was notorious that their parents had been reduced to poverty by their rapacious persecutors, these innocent young persons were fined ten pounds each, and as an expedient for raising this unjust penalty, the General Court at Boston resolved to sell them as slaves, under the following order.

“ Whereas, Daniel Southwick and Provided Southwick, son and daughter of Laurence Southwick, absenting themselves from the public ordinances, having been fined by the court of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estates, and resolving not to work : The court, upon perusal of a law which was made upon account of debts, in answer to what should be done for the satis-

* MS. letter of William Robinson, 1659.

† Bessc, vol. ii. p. 198.

faction of the fines resolves, That the treasurers of the several counties, are and shall be fully empowered to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes, to answer the said fines."

The heartless mandate having been issued, steps were now taken to put it in force, and the brother and sister, subjects of the British realm, were offered first to one Barbadoes captain, and then to another, as slaves for the southern markets. The atrocity of the attempt was, however, too glaring to meet with success, and the refusal of all the sea captains to lend themselves to the furtherance of such barbarity, offered a strong rebuke to the self-righteous ministers and rulers of Boston. One captain, less bold in his refusal than his companions, as an excuse for declining to purchase them, said, "they would spoil the ship's company." "No," said the officer, "you need not fear that, for they are poor harmless creatures that will not hurt any body." The captain, struck with this inconsistent avowal of the truth, at once replied, "Will you then offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures?"* Thus foiled in their wicked work, and at a loss how to dispose of their prey, as winter approached, the brother and sister were set at liberty to provide for themselves, until an opportunity could be found to accomplish the cruel purpose.

In framing the laws of New England, the Pilgrim Fathers, enlightened beyond most of their contemporaries on the subject of jurisprudence, had considerably reduced the number of offences, to be punished by the extreme penalty of the law.† The abhorrence also, with which they viewed the sinful and disgusting traffic in men, practised at that period by most, if not every christian nation, prompted them to constitute as one of their capital offences, a participation in this wicked and odious commerce. When, therefore, we compare these bright spots in their history, with the revolting conduct of their successors in the affair of the youthful Southwicks, how is the heinousness of the transaction heightened, and a palliation of such cruel inconsistencies

* New England Judged, p. 80, Sewel, p. 224.

† They had reduced the number of capital offences to eleven.

rendered impossible ! The authorised commission of a crime, for which their own laws had imposed the forfeiture of life, can only find its explanation in the excesses of a blind and barbarous bigotry, an explanation equally applicable to the darkest deeds of the Romish inquisition.

The failure of the rulers of Massachusetts to sell the two children of Laurence and Cassandra Southwick into bondage, did not deter them from making a similar attempt respecting others who were older. Edward Wharton and Samuel Gaskin, two Friends of Salem, who had already suffered severely for their religion, were soon after arrested for the non-attendance of public worship, and fined in the respective sums of £5. 10s. and £8. One of them, having no visible property to distrain upon for the fines, was sentenced to be sent to Barbadoes and sold as a slave. The cruel order, however, was never executed, arising it is supposed from the same cause which had frustrated the previous attempt. The authorities of Boston, it is evident, had not calculated upon the difficulties which presented in their attempt to make slaves of their conscientious neighbours. Their design undoubtedly was, to carry out to some considerable extent this plan for extinguishing heresy ; in pursuance of which the General Court made a law in the Third Month, " That all children and servants and others, that for conscience' sake cannot come to their meetings to worship, and have not estates in their hands to answer the fines, must be sold for slaves to Barbadoes or Virginia, or other remote parts ;"* and so unblushingly did the rulers of the province proceed in this disgusting business, that the slave making order was " proclaimed throughout the province."† The more effectually to hunt down the poor unresisting Quakers, the officers were instructed to use at their own discretion, all the powers of a search warrant. The following is a specimen of an order of this description given to the constable of Salem.

" You are required, by virtue hereof, to search in all suspicious houses for private meetings ; and if they refuse to open the doors,

* New England a Degenerate Plant, p. 10.

† Ibid, p. 10.

you are to break open the door upon them, and return the names of all ye find to Ipswich court.”*

“WILLIAM HATHORN.”

While the authorities of the Boston division of Massachusetts, were thus pursuing religious persecution, those of the Plymouth patent, were not idle in the same wicked work. In the Fourth Month, 1659, William Leddra, and Peter Pearson, whilst travelling in gospel labours in that colony, were arrested, and imprisoned for ten months at Plymouth. The following extract from a letter written by Peter Pearson during his imprisonment, gives a few particulars of the movements of himself and some of his friends prior to his arrest.

“Upon the Ninth-day of the Fourth Month, 1659, the Fourth-day of the week, all of us English Friends that were abroad in this country, had a meeting upon Rhode Island. The Sixth-day following, at a Ferry side, upon Rhode Island, one Friend, William Leddra, and I, parted with Christopher Holder, Marmaduke Stevenson, and William Robinson, we being about to pass over the ferry, to travel into this part of the country called Plymouth colony. At the end of two days’ journey we came to a town therein, called Sandwich, and the day following had a pretty peaceable meeting, and it was with us, if we did escape apprehension in this colony, to have travelled into Boston’s jurisdiction; but in the second meeting that we had at Sandwich, we were apprehended, and had before the governor and magistrates, and by them committed to this prison, where we have remained five months and upward.”†

“Written in Plymouth prison, in New England, the 6th of the Tenth Month, 1659.”

Peter Pearson

Turning again to Boston, we find intolerant zeal fast approaching its climax of atrocity. William Robinson who arrived in

* New England Judged, p. 91.

† Call from Death to Life, &c., printed 1680, p. 30.

New England in 1657, but whose gospel labours had been mostly in Virginia, came in the early part of 1659, to Rhode Island; where he met with Marmaduke Stevenson, who had recently arrived from Barbadoes, with Peter Pearson. Whilst there, William Robinson was much affected on hearing of the sufferings of his fellow-professors in Massachusetts, under the cruel law of banishment on pain of death, and, under a feeling of deep religious exercise, he believed it required of him to proceed to that arena of cruelty to bear a testimony against such unholy proceedings. In alluding to this prospect of religious duty a short time after, he thus writes, "On the Eighth-day of the Fourth Month, 1659, in the after part of the day, in travelling betwixt Newport and the house of Daniel Gould on Rhode Island, with my dear brother Christopher Holder, the word of the Lord came expressly unto me, and commanded me to pass to the town of Boston, my life to lay down in his will, for the accomplishing of his service; to which heavenly voice I presently yielded obedience, not questioning the Lord, who filled me with living strength and power from his heavenly presence, which at that time did mightily overshadow me: and my life said Amen, to what the Lord required of me."* A similar impression of religious duty was felt by his companion Marmaduke Stevenson; who had, even whilst in Barbadoes, a sense that such a service might be required of him, but which, he says, "I kept in my heart, and after I had been in Rhode Island a little time, visiting the seed, which the Lord had blessed, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson; and at His command I was obedient, and gave up to his will."†

Under such impressions, these dedicated men proceeded to Boston, and reached it about the middle of the Fourth Month, 1659. Their arrival was on one of the public fast days, and proceeding to one of the assemblies, they attempted to address the congregation, after the minister had concluded.

The presence of Quakers, thus boldly manifested, whilst it struck the company with surprise, excited the malevolent feelings

* New England Judged, p. 95.

† Ibid, p. 108.

of the minister and rulers, and, as will be readily supposed, they were quickly arrested by the constabulary, and summarily committed to prison.

It happened that about the same period, Nicholas Davis of Sandwich, and Patience Scott, a young Friend of Providence, were also in Boston, and being Quakers, were committed to prison with William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, under the same warrant ; of which the following is a copy :—

“ TO THE KEEPER OF THE PRISON,

“ You are by virtue hereof, required to take into your custody the persons of Nicholas Davis, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Patience Scott, Quakers ; according to the law made in October, 1658 : to be sure to keep them close prisoners till the next Court of Assistants, whereby they are to be tried according to law ; not suffering any to come at them, or discourse with them, without special order from this court ; and allow them only prisoner’s fare, unless it be in times of sickness.

“ EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*”

“ *Boston, June 19th, 1659.*”*

The object which drew Nicholas Davis to Boston on this occasion, was one of business only ; “ to reckon,” says Bishop,† “ with those with whom he traded, and to pay some debts.” But that of Patience Scott “ was to bear witness against the persecuting spirit” of the rulers. The extreme youthfulness of Patience Scott renders her case a remarkable one, and deserving of further notice. She was one of the children of Richard and Katherine Scott of Providence, already mentioned. Though but a child of eleven years of age, it pleased the Most High to employ her in his holy cause, and to call her to go and plead with the cruel religionists of Massachusetts ; and she seems to have been several weeks in the city before her imprisonment. In the course of her examination before the magistrates, she gave evidence of being endued with a wisdom above that of this world, “ and spoke

* Secret Works, p. 19.

† New England Judged, p. 93.

so well to the purpose, that she confounded her enemies."* A narrative of the sufferings of Friends in New England, printed in 1659, thus mentions her. "They have imprisoned three men and a woman, whom they cast in prison with her clothes wet, and a child between ten and eleven years of age, who was moved of the Lord to go from her outward habitation 105 miles to Boston, where she was cast into prison, and being examined, her answers were so far beyond the ordinary capacity of a child of her years, that the governor confessed there was a spirit in her beyond the spirit of woman ; but being blind, and not seeing God perfecting his praise out of the child's mouth, he said it was the devil."† William Robinson, in writing to George Fox about a month after their imprisonment, thus alludes to her. "Here is a daughter of Katherine Scott, who is a prisoner in the gaoler's house : she is a fine child, and is finely kept : she is about eleven or twelve years of age, and is of good understanding."‡ After an imprisonment of about three months, Patience Scott was brought up for trial. The court, however, was somewhat perplexed with her case. Formally to banish a mere child for professing Quakerism, partook too much of the ridiculous to be enforced, and at last it was concluded to discharge her. The record made on this occasion was singular. "The court duly considering the malice of Satan and his instruments, by all means and ways to propagate error and disturb the truth, and bring in confusion among us,—that Satan is put to his shifts to make use of such a child, not being of the years of discretion, nor understanding the principles of religion, judge meet so far to slight her as a Quaker, as only to admonish and instruct her according to her capacity, and so discharge her ; Captain Hutchinson undertaking to send her home."§ "Strange," observes an historian of the colony, "that such a child should be imprisoned ! it would have been horrible if there had been any other severity."||

Before we turn from this notice of Patience Scott, it may be observed that the fact of a person young as she was being called

* Sewel, p. 224.

† Secret Works, p. 19.

‡ MSS. Letters of Early Friends.

§ Hutchinson's Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 199.

|| Ibid, vol. i. p. 200.

to the ministry, is not a solitary one in the history of Friends. George Newland, a youth of Ireland, entered upon this gospel service in his twelfth year; he died about the age of nineteen, and about six years before his death, laboured in the churches in his native land, to the comfort and edification of his friends. Ellis Lewis, of North Wales, felt constrained to engage in the ministry in his thirteenth year. His first communication was made in the English language, with which he was not familiar, and it is stated to have been "remarkable and tendering." Another instance of early dedication and submission to this divine call, was that of the noted William Hunt, of North Carolina. He entered upon gospel labours when about fourteen. At eleven years of age he had remarkable openings in divine things. Christiana Barclay, the daughter of Robert Barclay the Apologist, also entered on this important work when about fourteen years old. Many other young persons among Friends in the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth years of their age, it is well known, were also called by Him whose "Spirit bloweth where it listeth," to proclaim to others, the unsearchable riches of his heavenly kingdom. As an illustration of the power and efficacy which has attended the ministry of some of our youthful preachers, may be instanced the remarkable fact, that the Society of Friends in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge, was first raised, and became very numerous, chiefly through the instrumentality of James Parnel, William Caton, and George Whitehead, before either of them had attained the age of twenty years.

During his imprisonment, William Robinson, being desirous that his friends in Great Britain should be acquainted with the state of things in New England, addressed a letter to George Fox, the original of which is still preserved. The rarity of such documents relating to America, together with the interesting particulars it contains, makes it valuable and worthy of being included in these pages.

FROM WILLIAM ROBINSON TO GEORGE FOX.

G. F.

Oh! beloved of God, and highly honoured and esteemed among the children of the Lord, who hath made thee a father unto

thousands ; and hath given thee the spirit of wisdom and of understanding. I was refreshed when I was constrained to write, to give thee an account of our travels and labours in these countries. I who am one of the least among my brethren, have been for some time in Virginia with Robert Hodgson and Christopher Holder, where there are many people convinced ; and some that are brought into the sense and feeling of Truth in several places. We left Thomas Thurston a prisoner in a place called Maryland ; his sentence was, to be kept a year and a day. We came lately to Rhode Island, where we did meet with two of our brethren, named Peter Pearson and Marmaduke Stevenson, in whom we were refreshed, and Friends on the island were glad to see us, and the honest-hearted were refreshed.

Peter Pearson and one William Leddra, are prisoners in this country, at a town called Plymouth, as I did understand by a letter I received from my brother Christopher Holder, who was in service at a town called Salem, last week, some fifteen miles from Boston, where I am now a prisoner, (with my brother Marmaduke Stevenson) for the testimony of Jesus. Soon after I came to Rhode Island, the Lord commanded me to pass to Boston, to bear my testimony against their persecution and to try their bloody law which they have made, with laying down of my life, if they have power to take it from me ; for truly I am given up in my spirit into the hand of the Lord to do with me as He sees meet ; for verily, my life is laid down, and my spirit is freely given up for the service of God, whereunto he hath called me.

The rulers, priests, and people, do boast much in their hearts, that they have caused some to fly, for they have banished six Friends upon death, from their outward beings which was at Salem, and they have stooped to them in flying the cross in departing. Three of them are gone towards Barbadoes, and intend for England, it may be for London, whose names are Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, and Josiah Southwick ; Josiah's father and mother are passed to a place called Shelter Island, which belongs to a Friend, one Nathaniel Silvester, who is a fine, noble man ; and the other of the six are gone to Rhode Island. Oh ! God knows how near this went to me, when I did

hear that they were departed, and soon did the Lord lay it upon me to try their law ; yea, on the same day that I heard of their departure was I constrained, and soon made willing to give up my life, Boston's bloody laws to try ; and was given up frequently in my spirit into the Lord's will, even to finish my testimony for the Lord, against the town of Boston ; not knowing of any Friend to pass with me at that time, but the Lord had compassion on me, seeing how willingly I was given up to do his will, not counting my life dear to me, so that I might finish my course with joy ; and on the day following, the Lord constrained my brother, M. S. [Marmaduke Stevenson] to pass along with me to Boston, who is freely given up to suffer with me for the seed's sake, who doth dearly salute thee. Oh ! my dearly beloved, thou who art endued with power from on High ; who art of a quick discerning in the fear of our God ; Oh ! remember us—let thy prayers be put up unto the Lord God for us, that his power and strength may rest with us and upon us ; that, faithful, we may be preserved to the end. Amen.

WILLIAM ROBINSON.

*From the Common Gaol in Boston,
the 12th of the Fifth Mo. '59.*

CHAPTER X.

Mary Dyer leaves her home on Rhode Island, and proceeds to Boston—is imprisoned—M. Stevenson, W. Robinson, N. Davis, and M. Dyer are sentenced to banishment on pain of death—M. Dyer returns home—W. Robinson and M. Stevenson go to Salem, &c.—M. Dyer returns to Boston, and is again arrested—Mary Scott, Robert Harper, Daniel and Provided Southwick, and Nicholas Upahal are imprisoned at Boston—W. Robinson and M. Stevenson return to Boston, and are again imprisoned—Daniel Gould and several Friends of Salem also imprisoned at Boston—W. Robinson, M. Stevenson, and Mary Dyer are sentenced to be executed—The procession to the place of execution described—W. Robinson and M. Stevenson are executed—M. Dyer is reprieved, and returns home—Brief notices of the lives of W. Robinson and M. Stevenson—John Chamberlain, Edward Wharton, Daniel Gould, and several others are scourged—Christopher Holder banished on pain of death—Persecutions in Plymouth Colony—John Taylor visits New England.

MARY DYER has already been noticed, both as an Antinomian exile from Massachusetts, and as having been expelled from Boston in 1657, and from New Haven in 1658, when visiting those places as a minister of the Gospel. This dedicated woman, hearing of the new species of persecution, and of the imprisonment of four of her fellow-professors at Boston, believed herself called to visit them, in order to comfort and encourage them under their trials. On reaching the city, she was very soon brought before the magistrates for examination as a Quaker, which resulted in her committal until the next Court of Assistants.

The Court of Assistants referred to, was a court consisting of the governor, deputy governor, and magistrates of Boston. It met in the early part of the Seventh Month, then called September. Before this tribunal the imprisoned Friends, were

examined, and, excepting Patience Scott, all received sentence of banishment, on pain of death, if found within the limits of that jurisdiction within two days after their release from prison. William Robinson, being desirous that the magistrates should fully understand that they came to those parts under a feeling of religious duty, and not in their own wills only, pleaded with them on the iniquitous course they were pursuing. "If they did put them to death," he said, "for transgressing their law, they would become guilty of shedding innocent blood;"* "with many more expressions,"† observes Peter Pearson, "that cut them to the quick." But the persecuting court were not inclined to listen to the remonstrances of their victim, and he was silenced by having a handkerchief rudely thrust into his mouth. Again he attempted to address them respecting their cruel law, when the magistrates "in a great rage," and "looking upon him as a teacher,"‡ sentenced him to receive twenty lashes. He was forthwith taken into the streets of the city, stripped to the waist, and subjected to the degrading punishment.

The wicked sentence having been passed, Rawson, pursuant to the direction of the court, issued the following warrant to the gaoler:—

"You are required by these, presently to set at liberty, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyer, and Nicholas Davis; who, by an order of the court of council, had been imprisoned, because it appeared by their own confession, words, and actions, that they are Quakers; wherefore a sentence was pronounced against them, to depart this jurisdiction on pain of death; and that they must answer it at their peril, if they, or any of them, after the 14th of this present month, September, are found within this jurisdiction, or any part thereof.

"EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*"

"*Boston, September 12th, 1659.*§"

* Call from Death, &c. p. 31.

† Peter Pearson's letter in Call from Death, &c. p. 31.

‡ New England Judged, p. 96.

§ Sewel, p. 226.

Having thus received their discharge, Nicholas Davis proceeded to his home at Sandwich, and Mary Dyer felt liberty to return to Rhode Island. But William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, under a deep sense of religious duty, believed it required of them to remain in the colony, and on the day following their liberation they proceeded to Salem, where they endeavoured to strengthen and encourage their friends to stand fast in this day of trial. Daniel Gould of Rhode Island, who had become acquainted with these two servants of the Lord, thought it right to be with them under their perilous circumstances, and joined them at Salem.* Here, he remarks, "the people were much exercised in their minds concerning them; and some were willing to hear; but by reason of their cruel law, were afraid to have meetings at their houses. They had a meeting in the woods, not far from Salem, and great flocking there was to hear. The Lord was mightily with them, and they spake of the things of God boldly, to the affecting and tendering the hearts of many."† William Robinson, writing to Christopher Holder from this place, says, "we were, and are gladly received here, and the seed hath been reached in many—we have had two fine meetings."‡ Leaving Salem, they proceeded northward as far as Piscataway, and as they went, "found the people very tender and loving."§ Their continued presence in the colony was regarded by many of the inhabitants, as a proof of great devotedness to their Lord; and gave rise to much inquiry concerning the doctrines they were promulgating. "Divers," says Peter Pearson, "were convinced, the power of the Lord accompanying them; and with astonishment confounded their enemies before them: great was their service abroad in that jurisdiction for four weeks and upwards."||

Whilst William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were thus travelling in the service of their Great Master, Mary Dyer, under a feeling of religious constraint, returned to Boston, accompanied by Hope Clifton, a Friend of Rhode Island. They entered the city on the 8th of Eighth Month, and on the following morn-

* A Narrative, &c., by D. Gould, p. 5.

† Ibid, p. 5.

‡ Call from Death, &c., p. 20.

§ D. Gould's Narrative, p. 5.

|| P. Pearson's Letter in Call, &c. p. 31.

ing proceeded to the gaol to visit Christopher Holder, who, after labouring in the gospel, in the north of Massachusetts, came to Boston, with an intention to take shipping for England, where he was arrested and imprisoned. Mary Dyer was soon recognised and placed under arrest, together with her companion Hope Clifton. On the same day was also committed Mary Scott, who came to visit Christopher Holder, with whom she was under an engagement of marriage. Robert Harper, of Sandwich, who had come to Boston on business, was also arrested as a Quaker, and imprisoned with them. In addition to these, the gaoler had in his custody Daniel and Provided Southwick, and the good old Nicholas Upshal, who, after a banishment of three years, had returned to see his wife and family. But although this conscientious man had been an exile for so long a period, it was not considered a sufficient expiation of his crime in favouring Quaker opinions, and he was thus given to understand, that he was still regarded as a criminal in their estimation.

But a very few days had elapsed after the committal of Mary Dyer, before William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson again made their appearance in Boston. Having finished their religious engagements in the north of the province, they returned by way of Salem, accompanied by several Friends of that place ;* having been absent rather more than four weeks. The Friends who came with them on this perilous occasion were Daniel Gould, Hannah the wife of the exiled Nicholas Phelps, William King, Mary Trask, Margaret Smith, and Alice Cowland, the latter of whom "brought linen to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer."† "These," says Bishop, "all came together, in the moving and power of the Lord, as one man, to look their bloody laws in the face, and to try them."‡

This return of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, forms one of the most striking and remarkable incidents in the history of Friends. Banished the colony of Massachusetts on pain of death, instead of obeying, they disregard the unrighteous mandate, and proceed at once to preach within its limits, and to make converts

* New England Judged, p. 97.

† Ibid, p. 97.

‡ Ibid, p. 97.

to the doctrines, for the profession of which, the dreadful sentence had been passed upon them. Engaged thus for the space of a month, they next go, under the apprehended constrainings of a divine call, to lay down their lives a willing sacrifice, and to evince to highly professing New England, the impotence of their persecuting edicts to stay the work of the Lord. The conclusion, thus to offer their lives for the cause of truth, excites in the minds of their newly convinced brethren the tenderest emotions, and, regardless of the consequences of the step, seven of them, under a sense of duty, accompany the exiled strangers to Boston. The mournful little company, as they left Salem, bearing with them the habiliments for the dead, partook much of the character of a funeral procession; and as they drew towards the persecuting city, they felt that they were approaching the spot, where they were to witness the martyrdom of two beloved servants of Christ.

The constabulary, having been apprised of the approach of the banished Friends and their companions, went forth "with a rude company,"* and arrested them. After a mocking and scoffing examination by the magistrates, the whole of them were committed to prison, the gaoler being specially instructed to place William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson in chains, and to keep them in a separate cell. They were also searched, and all their papers, including William Robinson's journal, were taken from them.† There were now no less than seventeen persons in the gaols of Boston for professing Quakerism. "Their prisons," observes Bishop, "begin to fill." Thus, notwithstanding the extreme nature of the persecuting law, at no previous date had the city witnessed the presence of so many of the sect which the rulers were vainly endeavouring to crush. This extraordinary circumstance has attracted the notice of historians. "The Quakers," remarks a modern writer, "swarmed where they were feared."‡

The rulers had now in custody three individuals whose continued presence in the colony subjected them, under the late sanguinary law, to the forfeiture of their lives. These three, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson and Mary Dyer, were brought before the General Court on the 19th of the Seventh

* Gould, p. 6.

† Gould, p. 6.

‡ Bancroft's United States.

Month, 1659. Endicott, who presided, "demanded why they came again into that jurisdiction after being banished upon pain of death."* To this the prisoners severally replied, that they came only in obedience to a Divine call.† The situation of the court was peculiar. The law that had been passed for proceeding to the extreme penalty of death, was clearly applicable to the parties arraigned. But vindictive and cruel, as Endicott and Bellingham and their fellow-magistrates had shown themselves, they evidently shrank from the horrible deed of imbruing their hands in blood. After telling the prisoners "that he desired not their death, and that they had liberty to speak for themselves,"‡ and querying with them why sentence of death should not be passed upon them, Endicott directed the gaoler to take them away. Baffled as these bigoted and intolerant rulers were, they yet paused, ere they put forth their hands to slay their fellow-professors of the christian name, for merely dissenting from certain religious opinions.

On the following day, being one of the public meeting days, the officiating minister, in addressing his auditory, alluded to the presence of so many of the "cursed sect" among them. Instead of endeavouring to inculcate feelings of tenderness and love, he prostituted his eloquence to the wicked purpose of exciting his hearers to hatred and revenge, and urged them on to one of the darkest deeds of ecclesiastical power. The rulers, says Bishop, thus "heated by their priest, and prepared to shed the blood of the innocent, sent for the prisoners again."§ On their being brought into court, Endicott, after directing the gaoler to pull off their hats, and without any preparatory proceedings, began to pass sentence of death upon them in these words, "We have made many laws, and endeavoured by several ways to keep you from us; and neither whipping, nor imprisonment, nor cutting off ears, nor banishment on pain of death, will keep you from among us. I desired not your deaths: give ear and hearken to your sentence."|| Here Endicott, whose proceedings had been

* New England Judged, p. 97.

† Ibid, p. 98.

‡ Ibid, p. 98.

§ Ibid, p. 98.

|| W. Robinson's Letter in Call, &c. p. 24.

marked "with much fear,"* made a stop, for, observes Bishop, "he spoke faintly as a man whose life was departing from him, for the hand of the Lord was upon him."† At this juncture William Robinson requested permission to read a document which he had prepared, setting forth the reason why he had not departed the colony. But Endicott, excited by the interruption, replied, "you shall not read it, nor will the court hear it read."‡ William Robinson then calmly laid it on the table, and it was handed up to Endicott, who, after having quietly read the document to himself, proceeded thus to finish the horrible sentence, "You shall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead."§

William Robinson having been removed, Marmaduke Stevenson was called to receive a similar sentence. Endicott, before proceeding, said to him,|| "If you have any thing to say, you may speak;" but the prisoner seeing the manner in which his companion had been treated, made no reply. The governor then pronounced the awful sentence of death against him in the usual form, after which, Marmaduke, under a feeling of Divine authority,¶ thus addressed the court, "Give ear, ye magistrates, and all who are guilty, for this the Lord hath said concerning you, and will perform his word upon you. That the same day ye put his servants to death, shall the day of your visitation pass over your heads, and you shall be cursed for evermore; the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it. Therefore, in love to you all, I exhort you to take warning before it be too late, that so the curse may be removed. For assuredly, if you put us to death, you will bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and swift destruction will come upon you."** Mary Dyer was next called, and the same dreadful sentence having been pronounced on her, she meekly replied, "The will of the Lord be done."†† Endicott, irritated at the calm and dignified manner in which the sentence

* Nicholson's Standard of the Lord lifted up, p. 22.

† New England Judged, p. 98. Call, &c., p. 24. ‡ Ibid, p. 98.

§ Ibid, p. 99.

|| Nicholson, p. 22.

¶ Nicholson, p. 23. ** Besse, vol. ii. p. 199.

†† Call, &c., p. 26.

was received, impatiently said, "take her away marshal;" but she, undisturbed by the unfeeling order, replied, "yea, joyfully shall I go;"* and so favoured was she with heavenly joy and consolation, that on her way to the prison, she frequently uttered praises to the Most High, for the evidences of His love, and that she was counted worthy to suffer for His name. Whilst under sentence of death, she wrote a close remonstrance to the General Court relative to their wicked law.

"Were ever such laws," she says, "heard of among a people that profess Christ come in the flesh? Have you no other weapons but such laws, to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you. You are disobedient and deceived. Let my request be as Esther's to Ahasuerus. You will not then repent that you were kept from shedding of blood, though it was by a woman."†

The day appointed for the execution, was the 27th of the Seventh Month, being one week after the condemnation, and the usual meeting day of the Church in Boston. The week which thus intervened, was a memorable one in the history of that city. The fact of the gallows being about to be called into requisition for the support of religion, produced an excitement of no ordinary character. It was a fresh shock to the feelings of most of the inhabitants. "They stood amazed, and wondered at such cruelty."‡ "The thing struck among them," says a narrator of the circumstance, "and struck a fear in the magistrates, where no fear had been." Throughout the persecution of Friends in New England, it had been an especial object with the rulers, to prevent their having any intercourse with the colonists, during their imprisonment. On the present occasion, however, the sympathy of the people was stronger than the words of their rulers, and they flocked to the prison windows to hear the ministrations of the conscientious victims."§ On the morning of the day on which the execution was to take place, "there came," says Daniel Gould, "a multitude of people about

* Call, &c., p. 26.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 202.

‡ William Robinson's letter, in Besse vol. ii. p. 244.

§ New England Judged, p. 99.

the prison, and we being in an upper room, William Robinson, put forth his head at a window, and spake to the people concerning the things of God ; at which the people flocked about, earnest to hear, and gave serious attention. But," he continues, "quickly it was noised in the town that much people was about the prison to see the Quakers, and that the Quakers were speaking to them, upon which came Oliver, (a captain, a very fit man for their purpose) and a company with him, to disperse the people ; but they being so many, and willing to hear, he could not drive them away."* The captain, anxious to stop the preaching of the Friends, and finding himself unable to disperse the assemblage, proceeded to take other means to accomplish his purpose. "He came," says Daniel Gould, "in a fret and heat to us within, and furiously hurling some of us down stairs, left us not, till he had shut us up in a little low dark cub, where we could not see the people."† But though thus persecuted for the cause of their dear Lord, they felt Him near to sustain them, and realized his ancient promise, "Lo ! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." "As we sat together waiting upon the Lord," observes one of them, "it was a time of love ; for as the world hated us, and despitefully used us, so the Lord was pleased in a wonderful manner, to manifest his supporting love and kindness to us in our innocent sufferings ; especially to the worthies who had now near finished their course—for God had given them a sure word, that their souls should rest in eternal peace. God was with them, and many sweet and heavenly sayings they gave unto us, being themselves filled with comfort."‡

Whilst these things were passing at the prison, the magistrates and others were assembled at their meeting. Here, as on the week previous, the minister spoke abundantly of "the diabolical doctrines" and horrid tenets of, as he was wont to term them, "the cursed sect of Quakers." "Their lecture being ended ; the priest having sharpened and hardened them for the service,"§ the officers, in pursuance of the bloody work, proceeded to the

* Gould's Narrative, p. 8.

† Ibid, p. 8.

‡ Ibid, p. 9.

§ Ibid, p. 9.

prison with an escort of two hundred "armed men, with drums and colours, and halberds, guns, swords and pikes, besides many horse-men."* "While we were yet embracing each other, and taking leave, with full and tender hearts," observes one of the prisoners, "the officers came in and took the two from us, as sheep for the slaughter."† These two were William Robinson, and Marmaduke Stevenson; the house of correction having been selected as the place of Mary Dyer's imprisonment. Every thing being prepared, the procession began its march towards Boston Common, the destined place of execution, being about one mile distant. The authorities, as though conscious of the wickedness of the deed, and fearing the excitement of the citizens, directed the course to be taken by a back-way, and not through the direct thoroughfare of the city.

The motley concourse, as it proceeded with its Boston priest, and Boston soldiery, the city officials, and the condemned; with colours flying, and drums beating, together with the unmarshalled multitude which the impending demonstration had attracted, presented a scene strongly analogous to the procession of an *auto-da-fé* of Roman Catholic Spain. Except, indeed, that in the one case, the victims were to be led to the gibbet, and in the other to the stake, there seems such an identity of proceeding, that it is difficult to realize the idea that the abettors of this revolting spectacle, professed to be the uncompromising opposers of papacy.

It might have been expected that at least some little regard would be paid to the feelings of those who were now so soon to be launched into eternity, but the want of decorum exhibited towards the condemned at this awful period, was revolting in the highest degree. The rulers, dreading the voice of public remonstrance from the victims of their malignity, in order to frustrate any such attempt, directed the drummers to walk immediately before them, with special instructions for a louder beat, should either of them begin to speak: when therefore, William Robinson began to

* E. Burrough's declaration of the sad and great persecution, p. 24.

† Gould's Narrative, p. 9,

address the people, his voice was quickly drowned amid the increased din, and all that could be heard was, "this is your hour and [the] power of darkness." The drums having ceased a little, Marmaduke Stevenson said, "This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you."* He said more, but the drums being again beaten, it could not be heard.

The pious sufferers, although deprived of outward quiet and solemnity at this awful time, were nevertheless wonderfully supported, and favoured with great serenity of mind, and, under the feeling of the Divine presence which was largely vouchsafed to them, they rose superior to all the clamour and indignities to which they were exposed; and, as they proceeded, walking hand in hand, to the place of execution, "glorious signs of heavenly joy and gladness were beheld in their countenances,"† and they rejoiced that the Lord had counted them worthy to suffer for his name's sake.

It can excite no surprise that many of those engaged in this wicked work were strangers to sensibility of mind, and the marshal appears to have been one of these. This active official, observing that Mary Dyer walked between her condemned companions, coarsely and tauntingly said to her, "Are you not ashamed to walk thus between two young men?" "No," answered Mary Dyer, to the repulsive observation, "this is to me an hour of the greatest joy I ever had in this world. No ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord, which I now feel."‡ Wilson, the "minister of Boston," appears to have been another of this class. Having made himself conspicuous in urging the rulers to the use of the gallows against Friends, he countenanced the present proceedings in a manner which stigmatizes him as a ruthless and hardened persecutor. Whilst the dismal group was on its way, this high professor joined in the train, and wickedly glorying in the transaction, began "taunting William Robinson;" and "shaking his

* Sewel, p. 224.

† Ibid, p. 224.

‡ Sewel, p. 231.

hand in a light scoffing manner," in low and vulgar language thus addressed him. "Shall such Jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?" The observation occasioned William Robinson to say to the spectators, "Mind you, mind you, it is for not putting off the hat we are put to death."*

Having reached the Common, the faithful sufferers now took a final farewell of each other. William Robinson was selected as the first to undergo the sentence, and having ascended the ladder, he thus addressed the multitude: "we suffer, not as evil doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth. This is the day of your visitation, and therefore I desire you to mind the Light of Christ, which is in you, to which I have borne testimony, and am now going to seal my testimony with my blood." Short as the address was, it was too long for Wilson. This implacable professor, vexed at beholding the martyrs display so little fear of death, and the fortitude and joyful resignation with which they were favoured, interrupted William Robinson, and vented his impetuous virulence by saying, "hold thy tongue—be silent—thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth."† The executioner having fastened the rope around his neck, bound his hands and feet, and drawn his neckcloth over his face, he said "Now are ye made manifest;" his last words being, "I suffer for Christ, in whom I live, and for whom I die." Marmaduke Stevenson was the next to suffer, and having mounted the ladder, he thus addressed the spectators—"Be it known unto you all this day, that we suffer not as evil-doers, but for conscience' sake;" adding a few moments before he was turned off, "this day shall we be at rest with the Lord."‡

Mary Dyer, who saw the lifeless bodies of her companions suspended before her, was now called to undergo the like ignominious death. She calmly ascended the ladder—her clothes were bound around her feet—her face was covered and the halter adjusted, and in a few seconds her resigned and purified spirit would have been for ever free from all the trials of time; but at

* New England Judged, p. 101.

† Ibid, p. 101.

‡ Sewel, p. 224.

this awful moment the silence which prevailed over the gazing assembly was suddenly broken by the distant cry, "Stop! she is reprieved."* Her life had been granted at the intercession of her son. The announcement though heard with gladness by many who witnessed the horrid spectacle, bore no tidings of joy to Mary Dyer. So entirely resigned was she to the prospect of death, and so favoured with divine consolation, that she seemed to be already participating in the joys of eternity. "Her mind," says a historian, "was already in heaven, and when they loosened her feet and bade her come down, she stood still, and said she was there willing to suffer as her brethren had, unless they would annul their wicked law."† The officers, however, disregarding her expressions, pulled her down, and under the care of the marshal she was re-conducted to prison, where her son was waiting to receive her.

Having thus sacrificed two victims to their intolerance, these persecutors had done enough to satisfy even an extreme malignity, but not enough it appears, to glut their desires for blood. To add to the atrocities of the spectacle, even the remains of the sufferers were subjected to the revenge which characterised these proceedings. The bodies after hanging the usual time were cut down, and no pains being taken to prevent it, they fell violently to the ground, the skull of William Robinson being fractured by the fall. They were then stripped, thrown into a pit, and there left uncovered. Those who had been denied the request to provide coffins, and to give the remains a decent interment, fearing that the bodies thus exposed would be devoured by the wild animals which then infested the country, requested permission to erect a fence around the pit, but even this reasonable application was disregarded; and had not the hole been soon filled with water, the bodies would in all probability have been food for the beasts of the forest. To complete this wicked and disgusting business, the notorious Wilson, as a yet further exhibition of his malice, actually made a song on the two martyrs. For the cause of humanity and for the cause of religion, it is well that the pages

* Sewel, p. 232.

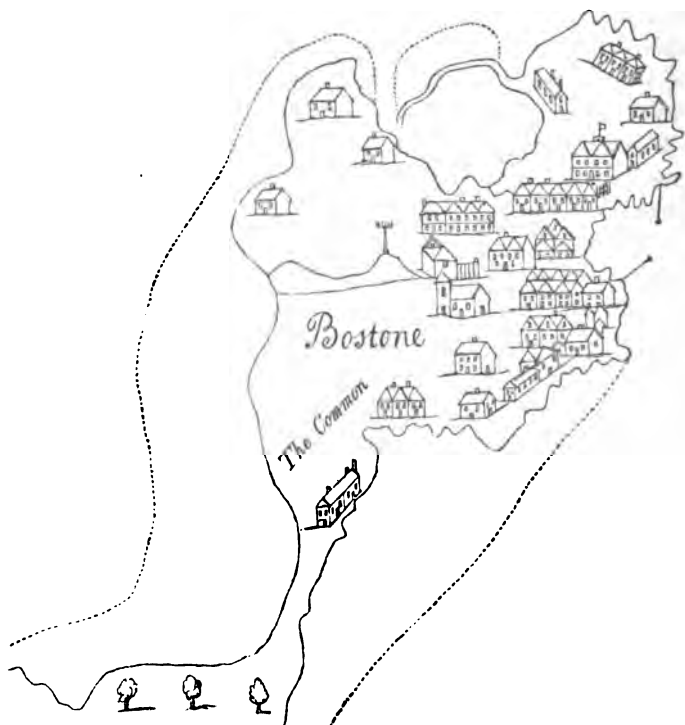
† Ibid. p. 232.

of Anglo-Saxon history are not sullied by many such exhibitions of human malevolence. Protestantism at least has not an equal to so atrocious a transaction. May it never be stained by a similar exhibition !

Before passing from the martyrdom of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, it may be well to notice a few particulars of them that have been preserved.

WILLIAM ROBINSON.

The earliest notice that we find respecting William Robinson, is that of his voyage to New England in the "Woodhouse," in the



The accompanying plan of Boston, is taken from an ancient one in the British Museum. About the year 1663, Boston was described in Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, in the following manner :—

“Invironed it is with brinish flood, saving one small istmos, which

year 1657. He was a man of good education, and in very respectable circumstances, his occupation being that of a merchant in the City of London.* His father was living at the time of his execution, and instituted some inquiry respecting it. On the day when he received sentence of death, he addressed the following epistle to his fellow-prisoners :—

“DEAR BRETHREN AND SISTERS,

“To whom my love abounds ; I am filled with pure love unto you all ; dear lambs, feel it in your own lives, and receive it into your own hearts as new oil ; for truly the fear of the Lord is our strength, and the blessing of the Lord is our portion, which the Lord doth daily give unto us ; blessed be his name for ever. Oh ! let us all keep in lowliness, and holiness, and meekness, and tender love one towards another, which is the seal and witness that the Lord is with us ; where the Lord for ever keeps us stayed on him, to receive our daily bread, which satisfieth the hungry soul.

“Dear friends, brethren and sisters, this I am constrained to let you know, how mightily the love of the Lord our God abounds in my heart, towards you all ; it runs forth as a living stream,

gives free access to the neighbouring towns by land, on the south side, on the north-west and north-east. Two constant fairs are kept for daily traffique thereunto. The form of this town is like a heart, naturally situated for fortifications, having two hills on the frontier part thereof next the sea, the one well fortified on the superficies thereof, with store of great artillery well mounted : the other hath a very strong battery built of whole timber, and filled with earth. At the descent of the hill, in the extreme point thereof, betwixt these two strong arms, lies a cove or bay, on which the chief part of this town is built, overtopped with a third hill ; all these, like overtopping towers, keep a constant watch to see the approach of foreign danger, being furnished with a beacon, and loud babbling guns, to give notice by their redoubled echo to all the sister towns. The chief edifice of this city-like town is *crowded* on the sea-banks, and wharfed out with great labour and cost ; the buildings beautiful and large, some fairly set forth with brick, tile, stone, and slate, and orderly placed with seemly streets, whose continual enlargement presageth some sumptuous city.”

* Bishop, p. 93.

refreshing the spirit and life—I was the first that our heavenly Father did lay this thing upon, for which I now suffer bonds near unto death ; from the first day until now, the weight of the thing lay upon me from the Lord God, and in obedience to his holy will and command I gave up ; in which obedience the arm and power of the Lord hath been, and is with me this day ; and the thing which the Lord had said unto me, still remains with me, that my life must accomplish the thing, and by it must the powers of darkness fall, and yet will they seek and labour to take it from me, and through much difficulty will they be suffered, to the glory of our God, and to the rejoicing of the elect.

“ So, my dear brethren and sisters, my love and my life feel in your hearts, for I am full unto you all in heavenly joy. The Lord for ever keep us all as we are now, to the glory of his name, Amen. This was I moved to write unto you all, my dear brethren and sisters, my fellow-prisoners, that have any part, or do partake with me herein.

“ Your dear brother, in holy and heavenly joy, and true love and peace.

“ WILLIAM ROBINSON.”*

“ Written in the Hole of the Condemned, in Boston gaol in New England, the First-day of the week, being the 16th day of the Eighth Month, 1659.”

Four days before his death he wrote an epistle “ To the Lord’s people.” The heavenly state of his mind, and the complete resignation with which he was favoured at this awful season, is very fully developed in this address, and we cannot better close the notice of him than by inserting the following extract from it :—

“ The streams of my Father’s love run daily through me, from the Holy Fountain of Life, to the seed throughout the whole creation. I am overcome with love, for it is my life and length of my days ; it is my glory and my daily strength.—

“ I am full of the quickening power of the Lord Jesus Christ, and my lamp is filled with pure oil, so that it gives a clear light

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 247.

and pleasant smell ; and I shall enter with my beloved into eternal rest and peace, and I shall depart with everlasting joy in my heart, and praises in my mouth, singing hallelujah unto the Lord, who hath redeemed me by his living power from amongst kindreds, tongues, and nations. And now the day of my departure draweth near. I have fought a good fight ; I have kept the holy faith ; I have near finished my course ; my travailing is near at an end ; my testimony is near to be finished, and an eternal crown is laid up for me, and for all whose feet are shod with righteousness, and the preparation of peace, even such whose names are written in the book of life, wherein I live and rejoice with all the faithful for evermore.

“ Written by a servant of Jesus Christ,

“ WILLIAM ROBINSON.”

*The 23rd of the Eighth Month, 1659.**

MARMADUKE STEVENSON.

Marmaduke Stevenson was an agriculturist of Shipton, near Market Weighton, in Yorkshire. The earliest account of him is contained in a paper which he put forth at Boston shortly before his execution, designated his “ Call to the work and service of the Lord.” It begins thus :—“ In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at plough in the east part of Yorkshire, in Old England, and as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it, for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream, which made me to stand still. And as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed upon the Lord, the word of the Lord came to me in a still small voice, which I heard perfectly, saying to me in the secret of my heart : ‘ I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations ; ’ and at the hearing of the word of the Lord I was put to a stand, seeing that I was but a child, for such a weighty matter. So at the time appointed, Barbadoes was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go, and leave my dear and loving wife and tender children ; for the Lord said unto me, immediately by his

* Beese, vol. ii. p. 248.

Spirit, that he would be as an husband to my wife, and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for he would provide for them." Notwithstanding the prospect which he thus had in 1655, he did not leave his native land until the Fourth Month, 1658, when he embarked for Barbadoes with several other gospel messengers.

During his imprisonment at Boston, he wrote his "Call to the work and service of the Lord," already referred to, and also a long address to his "neighbours and the people of the town of Shipton, Weighton, and elsewhere," entitled "A Call from Death to Life, out of the dark Ways and Worships of the world, where the Seed is held in bondage, under the Merchants of Babylon." In this piece he affectionately warns those who were living in forgetfulness of God, "to lend an ear to His call, while he knocked at the door of their hearts." "Oh," he writes, "my love runs out to you all in compassion and pity to your souls, which lie in death, as mine hath done ; but the Lord in his eternal love and pity to my soul, hath redeemed me from my fallen estate, and raised my soul from death to life, out of the pit, wherein it lay dead in trespasses and sins. And seeing the Lord hath done this for me, I cannot but declare it to the sons of men, and praise his Name in the land of the living, who hath done great things for me. When I consider, and ponder it in my heart, my soul is ravished with his love, and broken into tears at his kindness towards me, who was by nature a child of wrath as well as others. Oh ! the consideration of his love hath constrained me to follow him, and to give up all for his sake, if it be the laying down of my life ; for none are the disciples of Christ, but they that follow him in his cross, and through sufferings, *and they that love any thing more than him, 'are not worthy of him.'* The Lord knows I do not forget you, though I be thousands of miles from you, because of the simplicity that was in some of you, who were my neighbours and acquaintance ; for I am one who has obtained mercy from the Lord, through judgment and great tribulation, which all must pass through before they come into the land of Canaan : they must be regenerate and born again, and know a dying to sin, and that which they have delighted in, before they witness a living to righteousness : the old man must be put off

with his deeds, before the new man Christ Jesus, be put on, the Son of the living God." "The desire of my soul is," he continues, "that you may not perish in your gainsayings, and for this end was this written unto you, as I was moved of the Lord, knowing that you are where I once was, in the perishing state, like the prodigal from the Father's house, in the far country, feeding upon the husks, with the swine. This was my state and condition for many years; but in the time appointed the Lord looked upon me with an eye of pity, and called me home to himself, out of the far country, where I was feeding on the husks with the swine, into the banqueting house, where my soul is refreshed, nourished, and fed with the hidden manna and bread of life."*

He also wrote a few days before his martyrdom, a letter "To the Lord's People," which strikingly evidences the prepared state of his mind in the near prospect of death, as will appear from the following extract:—

"Oh! my dear and well-beloved ones, who are sealed with me in the holy covenant of our Father's love, my love and life runs out to you all who are chosen of God and faithful; for you are dear unto me, the Lord knows it, and are as seals upon my breast. You lambs of my Father's fold, and sheep of his pasture, the remembrance of you is precious to me, my dearly beloved ones, who are of the holy seed, and bear the right image, which springs from the true vine and offspring of David, the stock of Abraham, the father of the faithful, and the redeemed ones, who are reconciled to God and one to another, in that which sea and land cannot separate; here you may feel me knit and joined to you, in the spirit of truth, and linked to you as members of his body; who is our head, and rock of sure defence to fly unto; here we are kept safe in the hour of temptation; and in the day of trial shall we be preserved in the hollow of his hand; here his banner of love will be over us, to compass us about; here we shall have recourse to the living springs, which come from the pure fountain and well-spring of life, which issues forth abundantly to refresh the hungry, and strengthen the feeble-minded; here you may

* Bease, vol. ii. p. 256.

feel me, my beloved ones, in the green pastures, among the lilies of the pleasant springs, where our souls are bathed and refreshed together, with the overcomings of God's love, and the virtue of his presence, which is as precious ointment poured forth, giving a pleasant smell.

"So my dear friends ! let us always wait at the altar of the Lord, to see the table spread ; that so we may sit down and eat together, and be refreshed with the hidden manna, and living food of life, that comes from Him who is our life, our peace, our strength, and our Preserver night and day. O ! my beloved ones ! let us all go on in his strength, who is our Prince and Saviour, that his image we may bear, who is meek and lowly in heart, and mind the true and sure foundation of many generations, the chief Corner Stone, elect and precious ; the Rock of Ages on which the saints were built ; and if we all abide thereon, we shall never be moved, but stand for ever as trees of righteousness, rooted and grounded in Him, who will be with us in all our trials and temptations ; and here will the Lord our God be honoured by us all that are faithful unto death : and we shall assuredly have a crown of life which will never be taken from us.

"Oh ! my beloved ones, what shall I say unto you, who drink with me at the living fountain, where we are nourished and brought up : where I do embrace you in the bond of peace which never will be broken. O ! feel me and read me in your hearts ; for I am filled with love when I think upon you, and broken into tears ; for the remembrance of you doth refresh my soul, which makes me often to think upon you, you jewels of my Father, and first fruits of his increase. If I forget you, then let the Lord forget me. Nay, verily, you cannot be forgotten by me : so long as I abide in the vine, I am a branch of the same nature with you, which the Lord hath blessed, where we grow together in his life and image, as members of his body ; where we shall live together to all eternity, and sit down in the kingdom of rest and peace, with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to sing the songs of deliverance to the Most High that sits on the throne, who alone is worthy of all honour and living praise, to whom it is due now and for ever. AMEN."*

* Bease, vol. ii. p. 249.

On the day following the execution of her two Friends, Mary Dyer addressed their persecuting judges, in a strain of sublimity, displaying a boldness and fortitude of mind, with such a deep sense of their iniquitous proceedings, as was calculated strongly to impress them. "Once more to the General Court assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyer, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in comparison of the lives and liberty of the truth, and the servants of the living God, for which, in the bowels of meekness and love, I sought you." After reproving them for resisting the power of divine grace, she thus concludes, "when I heard your last order read, it was a disturbance to me, who was freely offering up my life to Him that gave it me, and sent me hither so to do; which obedience being his own work, he gloriously accompanied with his presence, and peace, and love, in which I rested from my labour."

Mary Dyer's reprieve directed that she should remain a prisoner for forty-eight hours, after which the magistracy thought it most prudent to commute her sentence into banishment, on penalty of death in the event of her return. In accordance with this decision, she was sent with a guard of four men, fifteen miles in the direction of Rhode Island, where she was left with a man and horse to convey her forward; but declining the offices of her guard, she proceeded to her home without his assistance. The disgust with which the executions had been witnessed by the people, and their growing discontent at such cruel and unconstitutional proceedings, induced the rulers to adopt the plan of sending Mary Dyer to her home, in order to allay the excitement which prevailed.

A feeling of indignation was not the only effect produced on the minds of the colonists on this occasion. The Christian constancy and holy resignation of the victims, excited a desire in some of the serious people to become more intimately acquainted with the principles of those, who were strengthened and upheld joyfully to suffer even the loss of their lives for the cause of religion. The consequence of this inquiry was a further accession of numbers to the little persecuted band. John Chamberlain was one of these. On attending the execution, he was so much affected that he became convinced of the truth of the principles

for which the sufferers died. His sympathies being awakened, he was led to visit the prisons at Boston, to comfort and encourage those, whom he now claimed as brethren of the same religious faith. This did not escape the notice of the magistracy, and in a short time he was not only an inmate of the gaol, but had more than once severely to feel the effect of religious bigotry, in the application of the knotted scourge.* Edward Wharton of Salem, was also deeply affected by the circumstance of the executions; and spoke boldly among his fellow-townsmen of the wickedness of the act. But his testimony against these unrighteous proceedings drew down the anger of the rulers, and Edward, "as a peremptory fellow," was visited not only with a whipping of twenty lashes, but also with a fine of twenty pounds.†

Returning to the other Friends who were imprisoned at Boston, we find that after about two months' confinement, they were brought before the General Court for examination. At this tribunal, Daniel Gould was sentenced to receive thirty strokes; Robert Harper, and William King, each fifteen; and Margaret Smith, Mary Trask, and Provided Southwick, ten strokes each; whilst Alice Cowland, Hannah Phelps, Mary Scott, and Hope Clifton were "delivered over to the governor to be admonished."‡ To Christopher Holder, the only English Friend of the company, was reserved the sentence of banishment on pain of death.§ The lash, at best a barbarous and degrading punishment, was in this instance rendered additionally repulsive by its application in "the open streets of the city;"|| the female as well as the male prisoners being stripped for the purpose, before the gazing multitude. These cruelties caused much excitement and commotion in the city, and the gaol was at last so crowded by sympathizing citizens, that a guard was sent to prevent their approach. "The compassion of the people," observes an early writer, "was moved; many resorted to the prison by day and by night, and upon a representation of the keeper, a constant watch was kept round the prison, to keep people off."¶ The punishment being inflicted, the court

* New England Judged, p. 110.

† Ibid. p. 111.

‡ Ibid. p. 112.

§ Besse, vol. ii. p. 205.

|| New England Judged, p. 112.

¶ Hutchinson's Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 201.

ordered the liberation of the prisoners, on their paying the gaoler's fees, but the sufferers objecting in any manner to recognize their unjust imprisonment, refused the payment of this demand. The inhabitants, however, grieved at the scenes of persecution which had disgraced their country, undertook to pay the amount, and procured their discharge.

The magistrates of Boston, finding that the sympathies of the colonists were now much awakened in favour of the victims of their intolerance, and that murmurs of dissatisfaction with their illegal conduct, were increasing, endeavoured to remove this feeling, by publishing a justification of their proceedings. Throughout, the defence is but a lame one, and "the miserable apology,"* as it has been justly called, concludes in an incoherent manner, worthy of men who could perpetrate such deeds of darkness. "The consideration of our gradual proceedings," say they, "will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity; our own just and necessary defence calling upon us, other means failing, to offer the point which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become *felones de se*, which, might it have been prevented, and the sovereign law, *salus populi*, been preserved, our former proceedings, as well as the sparing of Mary Dyer, upon an inconsiderable intercession, will evidently evince we desire their lives absent, rather than their deaths present." "It is said," remarks Bancroft, in allusion to this manifesto, "the Quakers themselves rushed on the sword, and so were suicides." "If it were so," he continues, "the men who held the sword were accessaries to the crime." The same fallacious plea might be urged by the most unrelenting persecutors for religion.

The rulers of the colony of Plymouth, though not so severe in their measures for oppressing Friends, as their neighbours of Boston, continued, nevertheless, to harass them by heavy fines, for the non-attendance of meetings. Thomas Ewer of Sandwich, in addition to severe distrains, was "laid neck and heels together,"† for reproving his persecutors, for these unjust proceedings. Peter Pearson and William Leddra, who were committed to Plymouth

* Bancroft's United States.

† New England Judget, p. 148.

gaol, in the Fourth Month of 1659, did not obtain their liberty until the early part of the following year ; the period of their imprisonment, being more prolonged than that of any Friend who suffered in New England.

During the year 1659, three Friends only appear to have arrived from Great Britain, for religious service in New England ; these were Marmaduke Stevenson, and Peter Pearson, already referred to ; and John Taylor, of York. Respecting the religious labours of the last, but a very brief account has been met with. It appears that in the previous year, he felt a call to proceed to America, but being a young man, and of a diffident disposition, he was reluctant to venture on so important an engagement, without first consulting some of his friends. Acting on this conclusion, he laid the subject before George Fox, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who all encouraged him to proceed, under the persuasion that he was called to the work. He accordingly embarked for the new country, from London, being then only in the twenty-second year of his age, and, after a voyage of ten weeks, he landed " at his desired haven in New England." How long he was occupied within the limits of this province it is not stated, but his religious services were not confined to the English settlers. Trusting to the never-failing arm of divine guidance and protection, he travelled alone among the Indian tribes, and " had meetings in the woods and wilderness, to declare the truth to them," as he remarks, " and to turn them from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, in their own hearts." By these untutored sons of the forest, the stripling preacher was " received with kindness," and in their wigwams he became a welcome guest. " They heard me soberly," he says, " and did confess to the truth I spake, by an interpreter ; and they were loving and kind afterwards to Friends." In the course of this history we shall have again to refer to John Taylor, but it may be observed here, that he is described by a contemporary, " as an able minister of the New Testament ; in the publishing of which, the Spirit of God and of glory rested upon him, to the comforting and true refreshment of the churches, where the Lord ordered him, or his lot was cast."

CHAPTER XI.

Mary Dyer again returns to Boston—is arrested and sentenced to death—Her husband's Letter to Endicott—The procession to the place of execution—M. Dyer's Christian constancy—The execution—Some notice of her life and character—Joseph and Jane Nicholson, from Cumberland, visit New England—They are imprisoned at Boston—Letter of Joseph Nicholson to Margaret Fell from Boston prison—They are released, and travel to Plymouth ; are banished from that colony, and proceed to Rhode Island—J. Nicholson writes to Margaret Fell—Their return to England—Several Friends of Salem are imprisoned at Boston—Banishment and sufferings of Wenlock Christison and others—A Monthly Meeting settled at Sandwich and Scituate—Extract from the Colonial Records respecting these meetings—Observations on the establishment of Meetings for Discipline among our early Friends—Ancient document relative thereto.

THE last notice of Mary Dyer, mentioned her expulsion from Massachusetts on the reprieve of her life, and her subsequent return to Rhode Island. Shortly afterwards she believed herself called again to leave the comforts and happiness of home, to travel in the service of her Divine Master. Her course on this occasion was directed to Long Island, where she spent most of the winter ;* thence proceeding to Shelter Island, to the mainland about Narragansett, and on to Providence. Here she was introduced into a deep religious exercise of soul, under the apprehension that it was required of her once more to visit Massachusetts, to finish, as she expresses it, "her sad and heavy experience in the bloody town of Boston." Leaving, therefore, the quiet retreat of Providence, she journeyed towards the persecuting city, and arrived there on the 21st of the Third Month, 1660.

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 206.

Having been so nearly a victim to the gallows for venturing within its confines before, her presence now took the rulers by surprise. They had cherished the hope, that the dreadful example of their cruelty in the execution of her late companions, would have been sufficient to deter her from again coming amongst them. But they were blind to the character and motives of Mary Dyer, and ignorant of the efficacy of that Divine Power by which she was led and supported.

So vigilant had the magistracy been to prevent the propagation of the views of Friends in the province, that on all previous instances, no time had been lost in immediately arresting those who came to Boston for the purpose ; but, whether from the perplexity the rulers felt on the return of Mary Dyer, as shewing the futility of their barbarous enactment for excluding Friends ; or, from a fear of increasing the excitement of the public mind, or, from whatever other cause it might be, for ten days after the arrival of this devoted Friend, no attempt was made to interrupt the course of her gospel labours.

On this occasion, the general court was sitting. There were at the time several Friends in the gaols of the city, some of whom came to "sojourn" in the province, and, like Mary Dyer, much to the perplexity of Endicott and his fellow-magistrates, had returned after being banished on pain of death. Since her reprieve, several of the colonists also, had, according to the law against Quakers, forfeited their lives ; yet this extreme penalty the rulers hesitated to enforce. But Mary Dyer was a stranger, and one whose avowed object in coming, was to preach those doctrines against which the whole weight of authority was vehemently directed. To exempt her, therefore, from the operation of the law, after she had been once reprieved, would have been a virtual abandonment of the enactment ; a course for which they were not yet prepared, and on the 31st of the Third Month, she was once more arraigned before the general court. Endicott, who undertook the examination, asked her if she was the same Mary Dyer that was there before ? To which she unhesitatingly replied, "I am the same Mary Dyer that was here at the last general court." Endicott said, "Then you own yourself a Quaker, do you not ?" "I own

myself to be reproachfully called so," answered Mary Dyer. Endicott, after saying, "I must then repeat the sentence once before pronounced upon you," thus proceeded, "You must return to the prison, and there remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock; then from thence you must go to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead." "This," said Mary Dyer calmly, "is no more than thou saidst before." To this observation, Endicott replied, "But now it is to be executed; therefore, prepare yourself for nine o'clock to-morrow." This dignified woman, unmoved by the dreadful sentence, and unshaken in her belief that her call to come amongst them was from on high, thus addressed the court: "I came in obedience to the will of God, to the last general court, praying you to repeal your unrighteous sentence of banishment on pain of death; and that same is my work now, and earnest request, although I told you, that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against them." Endicott, disturbed by her address, tauntingly said to her, "Are you a prophetess?" "I spoke the words," she replied, "which the Lord spoke to me, and now the thing is come to pass." She then proceeded to speak further of her religious call, but the governor impatiently cried, "Away with her," and she was speedily reconducted to prison.

The departure of Mary Dyer to Boston on this occasion, plunged her family into the greatest distress; for the consequence, they were well assured, would be the sacrifice of her life. Her husband, whose religious views did not harmonize with those of Friends, nevertheless loved her tenderly, and, anxious for her preservation, addressed the following touching appeal to Governor Endicott:—

"HONOURED SIR,

"It is with no little grief of mind and sadness of heart, that I am necessitated to be so bold as to supplicate your honoured self, with the honourable assembly of your general court, to extend your mercy and favour once again to me and my children. Little did I dream that I should have occasion to petition in a matter of this nature; but so it is, that through the Divine Providence,

and your benignity, my son obtained so much pity and mercy at your hands, to enjoy the life of his mother. Now, my supplication to your honours is, to beg affectionately the life of my dear wife. 'Tis true, I have not seen her above this half year, and cannot tell how, in the frame of her spirit, she was moved thus again to run so great a hazard to herself, and perplexity to me and mine, and all her friends and well-wishers.

"So it is, from Shelter Island, about by Peynod, Narragansett, &c., to the town of Providence, she secretly and speedily journeyed, and as secretly from thence came to your jurisdiction. Unhappy journey, may I say, and woe to that generation, say I, that gives occasion thus of grief (to those that desire to be quiet), by helping one another to hazard their lives to, I know not what end, nor for what purpose.

"If her zeal be so great as thus to adventure, Oh! let your pity and favour surmount it, and save her life. Let not your love and wonted compassion be conquered by her inconsiderate madness; and how greatly will your renown spread, if by so conquering, you become victorious! What shall I say more? I know you are all sensible of my condition; you see what my petition is, and what will give me and mine peace.

"Oh! let Mercy's wings soar over Justice's balance, and then whilst I live, I shall exalt your goodness; but otherways, 'twill be a languishing sorrow—yea, so great, that I should gladly suffer the blow at once, much rather. I shall forbear to trouble you with words, neither am I in a capacity to expatiate myself at present. I only say this, yourselves have been, and are, or may be, husbands to wives; so am I, yea, to one most dearly beloved. Oh! do not deprive me of her, but I pray give her me once again. I shall be so much obliged for ever, that I shall endeavour continually to utter my thanks, and render you love and honour most renowned. Pity me! I beg it with tears, and rest your humble suppliant,

W. DYER.*

* *The Friend*, a Philadelphia journal, vol. iv. p. 165, Third Month 5th, 1831. This, it is believed, was the first publication of the letter.

What answer was returned to this appeal is not ascertained, if indeed, Endicott condescended to answer it at all ; it was, however, unavailing. On the morning following her condemnation, being the 1st of the Fourth Month, Mary Dyer was led forth to execution. The officer, on coming to her cell, exhibited an unbecoming degree of impatience ; but, still preserved in great calmness, she desired him to " wait a little, and she would be ready presently." The coarse and unfeeling official, more at home in such cruel business than most others, replied, " He could not wait upon her, but she should now wait upon him."*

The demonstrations of sympathy by the townspeople towards the victims of these wicked proceedings, gave Endicott much uneasiness ; and fearing that the populace might show it in a very inconvenient manner, he deemed it prudent that a " strong guard" of soldiers should be in attendance. Mary Dyer being brought forth, and the drummers placed both " before and behind her," the procession commenced its march towards the Common.

Thus guarded, and amid the incessant beat of the drums, the procession arrived at the place of execution. Having ascended the ladder, she was told, that " if she would return home, she might come down and save her life ;" but to this she replied with much Christian firmness, " Nay, I cannot ; for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful unto death."† She was then charged with being guilty of her own blood ; to which she answered, " Nay, I came to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banishment upon pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord ; therefore my blood will be required at your hands, who wilfully do it ; but for those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will, I stand even to death."‡

Whilst on the scaffold, with the eyes of the mixed multitude fixed intently upon her, she was asked whether she would have

* Sewel's History, p. 234.

† Ibid. p. 234.

‡ Ibid, p. 234.

the elders to pray for her? "I know never an elder here," was her reply. Will you then have any of the people to pray for you? continued the attendant. "I would have all the people of God to pray for me," she said. As on the former occasion, so now, the approbation of the ministers of Boston was evinced by their presence. "Mary Dyer! Oh repent! Oh repent!" cried out Wilson, "and be not so deluded, and carried away by the deceit of the devil." "Nay, man," she answered, "I am not now to repent." After some further conversation between her and her persecutors, she was reproached with having said, she had already been in Paradise. To this she unhesitatingly answered, "Yea, I have been in Paradise several days." Her mind was in the same peaceful and favoured condition as when she had been previously brought to the place of execution. Other expressions dropped from the lips of this devoted woman, descriptive of the happy and unclouded state of her mind, in the prospect of that eternity into which she was about to enter. The executioner now did his awful office; and her purified spirit passed, it may be humbly believed, into the glorious presence of Him for whose cause she died.

But few particulars of her previous history are recorded in the writings of Friends. It appears, however, that long before she embraced our principles, she was a prominent character in New England. As early as 1637, or about twenty years before she professed with Friends, she was a distinguished leader in the Antinomian secession in that country. Oldmixon, in his history of the English colonies in America, speaks of her as "the companion" of Anne Hutchinson in that controversy;* and, in a work of more modern date, she is mentioned as her "devoted follower."† In common with others who dissented from the Puritan church in Massachusetts, Mary Dyer and her husband were banished from Boston, and, with most of the Antinomians, they settled on Rhode Island. Her husband was one of eighteen who formed the "body politic" on the settlement of Rhode

* Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, vol. i. p. 76.

† *Life of Anne Hutchinson in Sparke's American Biography*. Boston printed.

Island,* and afterwards held the office of secretary to the colony.† It is clear that Mary Dyer was endowed with mental qualities of no ordinary kind. Her addresses to the court, and her conduct when led to execution, evince that she possessed considerable ability and great fortitude of mind. John Taylor, who was united with her in some gospel labours on Shelter Island, a short time previous to her execution, said, "she was a very comely woman and grave matron, and even shined in the image of God."‡ Sewel, who bears a similar testimony, says, she had "extraordinary qualities," and "was of good family and estate, and the mother of several children."§ Croese, a Dutch writer, states, that she was reputed as a "person of no mean extract and parentage, of an estate pretty plentiful, of a comely stature and countenance, of a piercing knowledge in many things, of a wonderful sweet and pleasant discourse, so fit for great affairs, that she wanted nothing that was manly, except only the name and the sex."||

At the time of Mary Dyer's execution several Friends were lying in the prisons of Boston, and among them Joseph and Jane Nicholson of Cumberland. By a letter addressed in the Second Month, 1660, to Margaret Fell, it appears that it was their intention to make Boston their home, at least for a time. This letter recites several interesting incidents, as follows:—

FROM JOSEPH NICHOLSON TO MARGARET FELL.

From the Prison at Boston, this Third-day of the Second Month, 1660.

M. F.,

— Upon the 7th of the First Month, I was called forth before the court at Boston, and when I came, John Endicott bade me take off my hat, and after some words about that, he asked me

* Callender's Historical Discourse of Rhode Island, edited by Romeo Elton, p. 84.

† Hutchinson's Massachusetts, p. 199.

‡ Journal of John Taylor, p. 8.

§ Sewel's History, p. 233.

|| The General History of the Quakers, &c., by Gerard Croese. Second Book, p. 148.

what I came into the country for ; I told him he had my answer already. Then he asked, who sent me. I told him I was moved of the Lord to come hither with my wife, to sojourn in this land. He then asked, where I came from. I told him from Cumberland, where I formerly lived. Then he said, what would I follow when I had my liberty. I told him, labour with my hands the thing that was honest, as formerly I had done, if the Lord called me thereto.—He said, would I not go a preaching. I told him if I had a word from the Lord to speak, wherever I came I might speak it.—He asked if my wife was able to come to the court : I told him she was ; then he bid the gaoler fetch her, and the two other Old England Quakers. When they came, after some tempting questions, we were returned to prison. The next day we were called forth again, and were sentenced by the court to depart their jurisdiction before the sixteenth-day of the month, not to return upon pain of death. We could not have liberty to speak in our own defence, but, several times they stopped my mouth, and threatened to gag me, and to whip me when I could not forbear to speak. Bellingham boasted in open court, and said their law was too strong for us : he threatens much with their gallows.—My wife was not able to leave prison till the last day of their limited time, and then we passed to Salem, a place where are some Friends, and there stayed until the 20th, and then came two constables and took us both and carried us to prison. As we passed along the street we met the gaoler, who said I was come again to see if the gallows would hold me. The other two Friends that were banished with us, were one that did belong to the ship, and a maid that came with us in the ship, who was in prison about a week before the court began. They are at present gone out of the jurisdiction, but will hardly be clear, but come again.—I have had peace more than ever since this thing was made known to me, before I told thee of it : so the will of the Lord be done in it, what ever it be.

Joseph Nicholson

According to Boston law, Joseph Nicholson and his wife, by

continuing in Massachusetts, had forfeited their lives, and the gaoler, presuming that he had another victim for the gallows, laid Joseph in irons. On the day of Mary Dyer's execution, they were brought before the general court, "to see," observes Bishop, "if the terror thereof could have frightened them." "But," he continues, "the power of the Lord in them was above all, and they feared them not, nor their threats of putting them to death.* It was whilst lying in Boston prison, that Joseph Nicholson wrote a remonstrance to the rulers of the province, which he called "*The Standard of the Lord lifted up in New England,*" &c.

The bold and unflinching manner in which Friends were strengthened to resist the banishing enactment, impressed the rulers of Boston with fear; and, hesitating to pursue their sanguinary course, they again liberated Joseph and Jane Nicholson from prison. Having obtained their liberty, these Friends proceeded to the contiguous colony of Plymouth. The rulers, however, of this district, sympathised with those of Boston, and the two Friends were not allowed a resting-place amongst them; "if they had turned them away at Boston," said the magistrates at Plymouth, "they would have nothing to do with them."† From Plymouth the exiled couple proceeded to Rhode Island, from whence Joseph Nicholson addressed a letter to his friend Margaret Fell, from which the following is an extract:—

FROM JOSEPH NICHOLSON TO MARGARET FELL.

From Rhode Island, the 10th of Fifth Month, 1660.

M. F.,

We have found the Lord a God at hand, and although our lives were not dear unto us, yet He hath delivered us out of the hands of blood-thirsty men. We put our lives in our hands for the honour of the truth, and through the power of God we have them as yet. Although we pressed much to have our liberty to go as we came, yet could not, but are banished again. How it will be ordered afterward, if they let not their law fall, as it is

* New England Judged. Second Edition, p. 221. † Ibid, p. 223.

broken, we know not ; for if the Lord call us again to go, there we must go, and, whether we die or live, it will be well. His powerful presence was much with us in Boston. We found much favour in [the] sight of most people in that town. The power of God sounded aloud many times into their streets, which made some of them leave their meetings, and come about the prison, which was a sore torment to some of them.

I think I shall pass towards Shelter Island ere long, and some places that way where I have not yet been ; and, for ought we know at present, Jane may remain here awhile. Boston people were glad at our departure; for there were not many, I believe, would have had us to have been put to death. We are well in the Lord.

Thy friend in the Truth,

JOSEPH NICHOLSON.

I was prisoner in Boston [about] six months, and my wife a prisoner eighteen weeks.

Joseph and Jane Nicholson soon returned to England ; but scarcely had they regained the shores of their native land, ere they were immured within the walls of Dover Castle.* Writing from hence in the Second Month, 1661, Joseph Nicholson says, " If the Lord make way for my liberty from these bonds shortly, I shall pass to Virginia in the Friends' ship, and so to New England again, but which way Jane will go, or how it is with her, I cannot say."† We shall have hereafter to refer to these Friends.

When writing from Boston, Joseph Nicholson spoke of several Friends who were fellow-prisoners with him. These were Mary Trask, John Smith, Margaret Smith, Edward Wharton, and some others of Salem. About the same time, Robert Harper and his wife were also committed to the same wretched abode, and after them William Leddra, who it appears had returned to Boston, after having been banished upon pain of death. " These," observes Bishop, " were in Boston gaol in the Tenth Month, 1660,"

* Besse says they were imprisoned there for refusing to swear just after they had landed at Deal from New England. See vol. i. p. 291.

† Swarthmore MSS.

where, he adds, "they had been continued long."* William King, of Salem, who is noticed in the preceding chapter as having been imprisoned and whipped, had, we find, together with Wenlock Christison of Salem, Mary Wright of Oyster Bay, in Long Island, and Martha Standley, a young Friend of England, had sentence of banishment on pain of death passed upon them. Martha Standley is without a doubt "the maid" referred to in Joseph Nicholson's letter from Boston, who "came with him in the ship." Wenlock Christison after his banishment, went on a visit to his brethren at Sandwich. Here, however, like the Nicholsons, he was not permitted to remain. On arriving at the town, he was arrested and conveyed to Plymouth, where he was not only imprisoned for fourteen weeks, but subjected to a severe flogging, once "tied neck and heels together,"† and robbed of his Bible and clothes, to the value of four pounds, for the payment of the prison fees. "All this," adds Bishop, "was but for coming into their jurisdiction, when he was banished from the other."‡

The date of the transactions just alluded to, brings the narrative for New England, down to the close of 1660. In the closing chapter for 1658, a notice of the meetings established up to that period, is given. During the two subsequent years, the progress of the Society was rapid, and Monthly Meetings were established there, as in some parts of Great Britain. In a recent pamphlet relative to the meetings in New England, it is stated, that "Sandwich Monthly Meeting was the first established in America,"§ and that Scituate, now known as Pembroke Monthly Meeting, was established prior to 1660.|| No authentic records of the Society appear to be in existence, by which the precise date of these can be ascertained, but the fact that meetings of this description were established by Friends of New England at this time, is corroborated by the ancient provincial manuscripts of

* New England Judged, Second Edition, p. 220.

† Ibid. p. 222.

‡ Ibid. p. 223.

§ Brief account of the Yearly Meetings in New England. Providence, printed, p. 20,

|| Ibid, p. 21.

Massachusetts. In the minutes of the Court of Plymouth for the year 1660, the following order is recorded :—

“Whereas there is a constant Monthly Meeting of Quakers from divers places in great numbers, which is very offensive, and may prove greatly prejudicial to the government, and as the most constant place for such meetings is at Duxburrow, the court have desired and appointed Constant Southworth and William Paybody to repair to such meetings, together with the marshal or constable of the town, and to use their best endeavours by argument and discourse, to convince or hinder them.”*

The circumstance of Monthly Meetings having been thus set up in America, before they had been generally established in England, is an interesting feature in the progress of the Society in the new country, and deserving of particular notice. There does not appear to have been any systematic organization attempted at this early period. The new association consisted of pious individuals, who, forsaking the lifeless forms and ceremonies of the day, and a dependence upon man in spiritual things, found in the principles of the gospel enunciated by George Fox, and his associates, that rest and peace which their souls desired. As a gathered church, they acknowledged Christ only as its living and ever present Head. He was felt to be “their all in all;” “their Teacher to instruct them, their Counsellor to direct them, their Shepherd to feed them, their Bishop to oversee them, and their Prophet to open divine mysteries unto them;”† and remarkably indeed did the Chief Shepherd condescend to visit and “appear in the midst of them,” refreshing and comforting their spirits, and cementing them in a precious feeling of unity and love.

Separated as the Early Friends were from other religious professors; with their numbers gradually increasing, and the zeal of new converts warm and active, it was found that in the right exercise of the “diversities of gifts,” there arose a necessity for those important duties and for that mutual Christian care, which

* See notes on Duxbury in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Second Series, vol. x.

† Journal of George Fox.

we understand by the term *Discipline* ; to be regulated and upheld under the authority of frequent periodical meetings. The first meeting for discipline established in the Society, appears to have been held in the county of Durham, in the year 1653. This was a Monthly Meeting. George Fox mentions in his journal, that some meetings of this description were settled in the north of England at this date.* Among the Swarthmore manuscripts is a document which has been recently discovered, relative to the establishment of the Monthly Meeting in Durham. It is signed by sixteen Friends, and endorsed by George Fox.† This paper, setting forth the object which our early Friends had, in thus establishing a meeting for discipline, is valuable, and will, doubtless, be read with interest. It is as follows :—

“ Dear Friends, in the measure of the light of Christ, we being brought to feel and see the estate and condition of the Church in these parts, and the danger that many lie in, because of the oppressors, and [that] thereby the enemy of the soul may come to have advantage over us, therefore in the fear of the Lord, being moved thereunto by the Lord, and being subject henceforth every one to bear his burden, the strong with the weak, that the weak be not oppressed above his strength, but all drawing on hand in hand, that the weak and the tired may be refreshed, and so all become a joint witness to the everlasting truth, in word and conversation ; our lives and minds being set free from that, that daily may tempt or trouble in the particular. Therefore, dear friends,

* See vol. ii, p. 229. Leed's Edition.

† The endorsement by George Fox runs thus :—“ The setting up the men's meeting in Bishopricks, 1653.” And the following are the Friends who signed it :—

Christ : Eyon.

John Higgington.

Christr : Richmound.

Peter Young.

William Cotsworth.

Martin Richmound.

James Whyte.

John Hopper.

Anth : Pearson.

Robt : Selbye.

Richard Wilson.

Will : Trew hitt.

Jo : Langstaff.

Rich : Ewbanke.

Andrew Rawe.

Thomas Shaw.

we, who are met together, do think it convenient that some of every several meeting, do meet together, the first Seventh-day of every month, beginning with the Third Month, and to declare what necessities or wants are seen in their several meetings, there to be considered on by Friends, and as necessity is seen, so to minister. And, seeing at present there is a great need for a collection, by reason of some great sums of money that have been laid out, and more is to be laid out, we recommend it to your several meetings, to do herein every one according to your freedom in the present necessity, and to give notice the next First-day, that it may be collected for the poor, the First-day following, and to be paid over to John Langstaffe ; and a note of the same subscribed by some Friends from every meeting."

Quarterly Meetings constituted of representatives from the several meetings in a county, were established in some parts, a few years subsequently ; their office in the body being then similar to that which Monthly Meetings now exercise. But the setting up of Monthly Meetings did not generally take place throughout Great Britain, until about thirteen years after the date of that above referred to. In an early epistle which George Fox wrote in reference to these meetings, he thus counsels his friends, " Admonish all them that be careless and slothful, to diligence in the truth and service for God, and to bring forth heavenly fruits, and that they may mind the good works of God, and do them in believing on his Son, and showing it forth in their conversation, and to deny the devil, and his bad works, and not to do them ; and to seek them that be driven away from the truth into the devil's wilderness, by his dark power. Seek them again by the truth, and by the truth and power of God, bring them to God again."

CHAPTER XII.

William Leddra's imprisonment and sufferings at Boston—His examination before the Court—Is sentenced to be executed—His conduct at the place of execution—Letter of a spectator respecting it—The character of William Leddra—His epistle to Friends, written the day previous to his martyrdom—The examination and banishment of Edward Wharton—The return of Wenlock Christison after banishment—His Christian boldness before the rulers; examination and sentence—His address to the Court—The restoration of the monarchy in England—The rulers at Boston are agitated on hearing it, and release W. Christison and twenty-seven Friends from prison—The law for banishing on pain of death superseded by a law for banishing on penalty of being whipped from town to town out of the colony—The sufferings of Friends under this new law—Nicholas Phelps and Josiah Southwick return from banishment—The cruel scourging of the latter—George Rose, of Essex, visits New England—His letter relative to the service—The first General Meeting of Friends in America held on Rhode Island.

IN the previous chapters, much has been recorded that sullies the historic pages of Puritan New England. We have seen that its religious zealots, under cover of high spirituality, had consummated their persecutions in the murder of three individuals of unspotted lives and conversation, and of whom it may be justly said, "The world was not worthy." Injustice and cruelty in any form afford a humiliating exhibition of the depravity of man; but when presented to us under the mask of superior sanctity, the mind is wont to turn with feelings of deepened abhorrence from such a desecration of the name of religion. In every religious profession, conscientious feelings should be respected, but the persecutions in Massachusetts violated even the plainest laws of humanity. The rulers of this province, in justification of their wicked acts, represented Friends as moving under extreme delusion; but what greater or more shocking delusion can there be, than to slay our fellow-creatures and to believe that we are thereby

promoting the sacred cause of religion. Of all the acts to which the grand adversary influences man, this we conceive to be the most flagrant violation of the Divine law.

We have used the term murder, and used it advisedly ; for the martyrdom of the three Friends on Boston Common had been perpetrated contrary to the laws of the realm. The charter of Massachusetts in no degree empowered the local authorities to enact laws contrary to the fundamental principles of English jurisprudence and English liberty. In pursuing their despotic course, they did so likewise with the consciousness that it was repulsive to the feelings of the community. Towards the close of 1660, this was so intelligibly manifested, that for a time they deemed it prudent to suspend the operation of the law for executing Friends, and thus the life of Joseph Nicholson was saved.

It has been stated in the preceding chapter, that among those imprisoned at Boston in the Tenth Month, 1660, was William Leddra, who had returned to the city, after having been exiled on pain of death. This faithful man appears to have been in no ordinary degree the object of Puritan displeasure. During his former imprisonment at Boston, the sufferings to which he was subjected had been so extreme that his life was endangered. On the present occasion, he was fettered to a log of wood, being chained night and day in an open prison ; and that, also, during the severities of a New England winter. His persecutors would probably have been glad, had these inhumanities put an end to his existence ; but it pleased Divine Providence to support him through them.

On the 9th of the First Month, 1661, he was again brought before the Court of Assistants. Thus arraigned, with the chains about him, and still bound to the log, he was told that having returned after sentence of banishment, he had incurred the penalty of death. On hearing this, the sufferer asked what evil he had done ? The Court replied, he had owned those that were put to death ; had refused to put off his hat in court, and said thee and thou. He then asked them if they would put him to death for speaking English, and for not putting off his clothes ? To this, one of the magistrates made the absurd reply, " A man may

“speak treason in English.” William Leddra then inquired if “it was treason to say thee and thou to a single person.”* Broadstreet, a violent persecuting magistrate, now undertook to question the prisoner, and asked him “If he would go to England.” He replied that he had no business in England. Then, said Broadstreet, significantly pointing to Boston Common, “You shall go that way.” “What,” replied William Leddra, “will you put me to death for breathing in the air of your jurisdiction? What have you against me? I appeal to the laws of England for my trial. If by them I am found guilty, I refuse not to die.”† The arbitrary Court, however, overruled his appeal; and then, like some other persecutors of old, endeavoured to persuade him to recant, and conform to their own religion. The wretched attempt was at once rejected, and rejected, too, with magnanimity and disdain. “What! join with such murderers as you are,” said William Leddra; “then let every man that meets me say, Lo, this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his salvation.”‡

The Court, finding their victim unshaken in his religious convictions, passed the sentence of death upon him, and appointed the 14th of the month for its execution. On this day it was also arranged that a morning lecture should be given; and now, as on the former occasions, the officiating minister exerted his eloquence, to urge the magistracy onward in their dreadful work. “Priests and Papists,” writes a contemporary, “served to whet them on.”§ The lecture, or, as a modern writer terms it, “this shocking preamble to the execution,”|| being concluded, the governor, with a guard of soldiers, proceeded to the prison. Here the irons that had long hung on William Leddra were knocked off, and, taking a solemn farewell of his imprisoned companions, he “went forth to the slaughter in the meekness of the spirit of Jesus.”¶ On leaving the prison walls, he was immediately surrounded by the soldiery, with a view to prevent

* New England Judged, p. 316.

† Ibid, p. 317.

‡ Ibid, 318.

§ Ibid, 326.

|| Tuke's Biographical Notices, p. 55.

¶ New England Judged, p. 327.

him from speaking to his friends. Edward Wharton, observing the manœuvre, exclaimed that it was worse than the conduct of Bonner's men. "What," said he, "will you not let me come near my suffering friend before you kill him." One of the company replied that "it would be his turn next;" and an officer threatened to stop his mouth, if he spoke another word.

The procession was similar in character to those before-mentioned; and having reached the place of execution, William Leddra exhorted his friend, Edward Wharton, to faithfulness, and bade him a final farewell, saying, "All that will be Christ's disciples must take up his cross." While standing on the ladder, some one having called out, "William, have you anything to say to the people?" he replied, "For bearing my testimony for the Lord against the deceivers and deceived, am I brought here to suffer." These expressions, together with the heavenly mindedness which he manifested at this awful period, awakened the tender feelings of many of the spectators, in a manner that conveyed keen reproof to the instigators of the revolting scene. The ministers observed the manifestation of this feeling with uneasiness; and Allen, who was one of them, with a view to check the current of sympathy, said, loudly, "People, I would not have you think it strange to see a man so willing to die, for it is no new thing; you may read how the apostle saith, that some shall be given up to many delusions, and even dare to die for it." Truly, the apostle said that many should be given up to delusions; but the persecuting priest committed a great error, when he quoted the apostle as saying that such should dare to die for them.

The executioner now proceeded to complete his work. Whilst the halter was being adjusted, the martyr meekly and resignedly said, "I commend my righteous cause unto thee, O God." His last expressions being, as the ladder was turning, "Lord, Jesus! receive my spirit."* The body, on being cut down, was allowed to be removed by his friends for interment; this, however, would not have been granted, but for the outcry of the people against

* New England Judged, p. 329.

the barbarous indecencies exhibited to the remains of the former victims.

Before the execution, it was currently reported that William Leddra had liberty to leave the prison, and to save his life. This was a gross falsehood, propagated, doubtless, with a view to lessen the odiousness of the wicked proceedings. There was present a stranger, who was much affected on witnessing the scene. A letter addressed by him to a friend at Barbadoes, alluding to this report, and describing the execution, has been preserved, and will be read with interest.

Boston, *March 26*, 1661.

“ On the 14th of this instant, one William Leddra was put to death here. The people of the town told me, he might go away if he would ; but when I made further inquiry, I heard the marshal say that he was chained in prison, from the time he was condemned, to the day of his execution. I am not of his opinion : but yet, truly, methought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the magistrates of Cambridge, who had been of the jury that condemned him, as he told me himself ; and I asked him by what rule he did it ? He answered me, that he was a rogue, a very rogue. But what is this to the question, said I ; where is your rule ? He said, he had abused authority. Then I went after the man, and asked him, whether he did not look on it as a breach of rule to slight and undervalue authority ? And I said that Paul gave Festus the title of honour, though he was a heathen. (I do not mean to say these magistrates are heathens.) When the man was on the ladder, he looked on me and called me friend, and said, ‘ know that this day I am willing to offer up my life for the witness of Jesus.’ Then I desired leave of the officers to speak, and said, ‘ gentlemen, I am a stranger both to your persons and country, yet a friend of both :’ and I cried aloud, for the Lord’s sake, take not away the man’s life ; but remember Gamaliel’s counsel to the Jews—‘ If it be of man, it will come to nought ; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it : but be careful ye be not found fighters against God.’ And

the captain said, why had you not come to the prison? The reason was, because I heard the man might go if he would; and therefore I called him down from the tree, and said, come down, William, you may go away if you will. Then Captain Oliver said it was no such matter; and asked me what I had to do with it; and bade me begone: and I told them I was willing, for I could not endure to see this. And when I was in the town, some did seem to sympathize with me in my grief. I told them, they had no warrant from the word of God, nor precedent from our country, nor power from his Majesty, to hang the man.

“ I rest your friend,

“ THOMAS WILKIE.”

“ To Mr. George Lad, master of the *America*,
of Dartmouth, now at Barbadoes.”*

Of the history of William Leddra previous to his joining in religious fellowship with Friends, but very little is known. His home was in Barbadoes, but he is said to have been by birth a Cornishman;† and his occupation, it appears, was that of a clothier.‡ We find him engaged very early in visiting the West Indies as a minister, and in 1657 he proceeded in that character to New England. The particulars of the sufferings he underwent in pursuing this labour of love have already been set forth. Christian constancy, and patient endurance under extreme sufferings for the cause of his Lord, remarkably distinguished William Leddra. Addressing his friends of New England, from Boston prison, a few weeks before his death, he says—“ I testify in the fear of the Lord God, and witness with a pen of trembling, that the noise of the whip on my back, all the imprisonments, and banishing upon pain of death, and after returning, the loud threatening of a halter from their mouths, did no more affright me, through the strength of the power of God, than if they had threatened to have bound a spider’s web to my finger; which makes me to say with unfeigned lips—“ Wait upon the Lord, O

* Sewel’s History, p. 269.

† Whiting’s Catalogue, p. 61.

‡ New England Persecutors Mauled, by Thomas Philathes, p. 45.

my soul, for ever. I do not seek to withdraw my cheek⁷ from the smiter, nor to turn aside my feet from the footsteps of the flock, as witness this chain and this log at my leg ; but I desire, as far as the Lord draws me, to follow my forefathers and brethren, in suffering and in joy ; wherefore my spirit waits and worships at the feet of Immanuel, unto whom I commit my cause."*

The state of William Leddra's mind, in anticipation of his death, may be truly called a triumphant one. The heavenly enjoyments which he was permitted to experience, and the foretaste he had of a glorious immortality, were such as are rarely vouchsafed to humanity. On the day preceding his execution, he wrote the following :—

" TO THE SOCIETY OF THE LITTLE FLOCK OF CHRIST.

" Grace and Peace be multiplied.

" MOST DEAR AND INWARDLY BELOVED !

" The sweet influences of the morning star, like a flood, distilling into my habitation, have so filled me with the joy of the Lord in the beauty of holiness, that my spirit is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly swallowed up in the bosom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

" Alas ! Alas ! what can the wrath and spirit of man that lusteth to envy, aggravated by the heat and strength of the king of the locusts which came out of the pit, do unto one that is hid in the secrets of the Almighty, or unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the Prince of Peace ? under whose armour of light they shall be able to stand in the day of trial ; having on the breastplate of righteousness and the sword of the Spirit, which is their weapon of war against spiritual wickedness, principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, both within and without.

" Oh, my beloved ! I have waited like a dove at the windows of the ark ; and have stood still in that watch, which the Master, without whom I could do nothing, did at his coming reward with

* New England Judged, p. 297.

the fulness of his love ; wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might, in the love and life of God, speak a few words to you, sealed with the spirit of promise ; that the taste thereof might be a savour of life to your life, and a testimony in you of my innocent death. And if I had been altogether silent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have sealed my innocence with the streams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is of God, with whom and in whose presence there is life ; in which as you abide, you stand upon the pillar and ground of truth. For the life being the truth and the way, go not one step without it, lest you should compass a mountain in the wilderness ; for to everything there is a season.

“ As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and [as it] then retires again towards its own being and fulness, and leaves a savour behind it ; so doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom He hath made partakers of his Divine nature ; and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a sweet savour behind it, that many can say they are made clean through the word that He hath spoken to them ; in which innocent condition you may see what you are in the presence of God, and what you are without Him.

“ Your brother,

“ WILLIAM LEDDRA.”

*Boston Gaol, the 13th of the
First Month, 1661.*

Thus died this devoted Christian, in the full assurance of a blessed resurrection unto eternal life, and doubtless he now forms one of that innumerable company, who “ have come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.”

During the sitting of the General Court at which William Leddra was condemned, Edward Wharton, who had been a prisoner in Boston for nearly a year, was brought up for judgment. Being a man of great Christian courage, he spoke

boldly against these persecutions, and, consequently, he was very obnoxious to the ecclesiastics and rulers. When brought forward, he asked the governor what he had to lay to his charge? Endicott answered by referring to his not having taken off his hat, and hypocritically observed that he was sorry to see him so deluded.

Edward Wharton. "Wearing my hat is no just cause for persecuting me,—the truth deluded no man, and by the grace of God I am made willing to suffer for His name's sake, which grace I witness in my measure."

Endicott, scoffingly. "In my measure? This is right the Quakers' words. Hast thou grace?"

E. Wharton. "Yes."

Endicott. "How dost thou know thou hast grace?"

E. Wharton. "He that believeth on the Son of God, needs not go to others, for he hath the witness in himself, as said John, and this witness is the Spirit."

Endicott having ordered the gaoler to be sent for, Edward Wharton, desirous of knowing the ground of his committal, thus addressed him. "Since thou hast warrant, and caused the constable to take me out of my house, and to lead me through the country, from town to town, like an evil-doer, I would know what thou hast to lay to my charge?" To this Endicott replied, "Nay, you shall know that afterwards." The gaoler was then directed to reconduct him to prison, where he was kept day and night closely confined with William Leddra, "in a very little room, little larger than a saw-pit."*

On his being soon brought back to the Court, Edward Wharton repeated his former question—"Wherefore have I been fetched from my habitation, where I was following my honest calling, and here laid up as an evil-doer?"

The Court. "Your hair is too long, and you have disobeyed that commandment which saith, 'Honour thy father and mother.'"

E. Wharton. "Wherein?"

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 220.

The Court. "In that you will not put off your hat to magistrates."

E. Wharton. "I love and own all magistrates and rulers, who are for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well."

Rawson. "Edward Wharton, come to the bar."

E. Wharton. "Yea, and to the bench too, for thou hast no evil justly to lay to our charge."

Rawson. "Hold up your hand."

E. Wharton. "I will not. Thou hast no evil to charge me with."

Rawson. "Hear your sentence of banishment."

E. Wharton. "Have a care what you do, for if you murder me, my blood will lie heavy upon you."

Rawson. "Edward Wharton, attend to your sentence of banishment. You are, upon pain of death, to depart this jurisdiction, it being the eleventh of this instant, March, by the one-and-twentieth of the same, on the pain of death."

E. Wharton. "Friends, I am a single man, and I have dealings with some people; it were good I had time to make clear with all, and then if you have power to murder me, you may."

Endicott, after consulting with Rawson. "If we should give him an hundred days, it is all one."

E. Wharton. "Nay, I shall not go away; therefore be careful what you do."*

The prisoner then addressed the numerous assembly, on the injustice of the proceedings; "They have nothing to charge me withal," said he, "but my hat and my hair." Rawson now calling the attention of the Court, read the record he had made—"that, contrary to law, the prisoner had travelled up and down, with William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson." Edward Wharton replied, "What readest thou that for?" and alluding to the whipping he underwent in 1659, said, "Have ye not ploughed furrows on my back for that already, although ye had no law for it?" The reply having silenced Rawson, Bellingham,

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 221.

the deputy governor, interfered, with a threat to send him back to prison, and to have him whipped. He was, however, released, and commanded immediately to depart the colony ; but, undaunted by their threats or their law, he attended the execution of his friend William Leddra, at which he bore an unflinching testimony against such atrocities, and then returned to his home at Salem.*

The case of Edward Wharton was an unpalatable one to Endicott and his fellow-magistrates ; but they were still more perplexed by that of Wenlock Christison, than whom none distinguished himself more by Christian constancy and firmness, in the time of these cruelties. In the previous chapter, he is stated to have been banished under penalty of death ; and on proceeding to the adjacent colony of Plymouth, to have been driven also from that territory. Wenlock Christison, not counting his life dear unto him for the truth's sake, believed it required of him to return to Boston, although in the expectation that ere long he should be added to the list of martyrs. He came back boldly, and entered the general court to face his persecutors, at the very moment they were passing sentence of death on William Leddra. The magistrates, on seeing him enter, were struck with consternation. The unexpected event so petrified them, that for some time it produced an entire silence. Their extreme surprise, however, soon gave place to other feelings, and one of the Court cried out, " Here is another, fetch him to the bar."†

Rawson. " Is not your name Wenlock Christison ? "

Wenlock. " Yea. "

Endicott. " Wast thou not banished upon pain of death ? "

Wenlock. " Yea, I was. "

Endicott. " What dost thou here, then ? "

Wenlock. " I am come to warn you, that you shed no more innocent blood ; for the blood that you have shed already cries to the Lord for vengeance. "

Being handed over to the custody of the gaoler, he was then taken to prison. On the same day on which William Leddra

* New England Judged, p. 342.

† Sewall, p. 226.

was put to death, he was again placed at the bar, the magistrates presuming that the circumstance of his companion's execution would terrify him into submission ; but, as will be seen, they greatly mistook the character of their prisoner. On this occasion, both Endicott and Bellingham endeavoured to shake his Christian firmness. Except he would renounce his religion, they said he should surely die. But undismayed by their menaces, he replied, " Nay, I shall not change my religion, nor seek to save my life ; neither do I intend to deny my Master ; but if I lose my life for Christ's sake, and the preaching of the gospel, I shall save it."* The prisoner's reply touched the hearts of some of the magistrates, and being divided in sentiment about putting him to death, they ordered him to be remanded until the next General Court. Endicott, it appears, was so disconcerted with the conduct of those on the bench who took the more humane view, that for two days he refused to preside again.†

The time having arrived, Wenlock Christison was brought from his prison-house, and being placed at the bar, the Governor asked him what he had to say for himself, why he should not die ?

Wenlock. " I have done nothing worthy of death : if I had, I refuse not to die."

Endicott. " Thou art come in amongst us in rebellion, which is as the sin of witchcraft, and ought to be punished."

Wenlock. " I came not in among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven ; not in contempt to any one of you, but in love to your souls and bodies ; and *that* you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of the deeds done in the body. Take heed, for you cannot escape the righteous judgments of God."

Major-General Adderton. " You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments ; but the judgments of the Lord are not come upon us yet."

Wenlock. " Be not proud, neither let your spirits be lifted

* New England Judged, p. 335.

† Ibid, p. 335.

up ; God doth but wait till the measure of your iniquity be filled up, and you have run your ungodly race ; then will the wrath of God come upon you to the uttermost. And as for thy part, it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and shall come as a thief in the night suddenly, when thou thinkest not of it.* By what law will you put me to death ?”

Court. “ We have a law, and by our law, you are to die.”

Wenlock. “ So said the Jews of Christ, we have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Who empowered you to make that law ?”

Court. “ We have a patent and are patentees ; judge whether we have not power to make laws ?”

Wenlock. “ How ! have you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of England ?”

Endicott. “ Nay.”

Wenlock. “ Then you are gone beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your patent, and this is more than you can answer. Are you subjects to the king, yea or nay ?”

Rawson. “ What will you infer from that, what good will that do you ?”

Wenlock. “ If you are, say so : for in your petition to the king, you desire that he will protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel among his loyal subjects ?”

Court. “ Yes.”

Wenlock. “ So am I, and for any thing I know, am as good as you, if not better ; for if the king did but know your hearts, as God knows them, he would see that your hearts are as rotten towards him as they are towards God. Therefore seeing that you

* Events seemed to indicate that Wenlock Christison, in speaking thus prophetically to Adderton, did so under the influence of that wisdom which is from above. Some time after, this daring and hardened persecutor was suddenly cut off in a very remarkable manner. Returning home one day, after he had been exercising the soldiery, his horse took fright, and threw him with such violence as to cause instant death. His lifeless corpse presented a shocking spectacle, his eyes being forced out of his head, and his brains out of his nose, whilst the blood flowed in profusion from his ears.—Vide *Besse's Sufferings*, vol. ii. p. 270.

and I are subjects to the king, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation."

Court. "You shall be tried by a bench and jury."

Wenlock. "That is not the law, but the manner of it: for if you will be as good as your word, you must set me at liberty, for I never heard or read of any law that was in England to hang Quakers."

Endicott. "There is a law to hang Jesuits."

Wenlock. "If you put me to death, it is not because I go under the name of a Jesuit, but a Quaker; therefore I appeal to the laws of my own nation."

Court. "You are in our hands, and have broken our laws, and we will try you."

Wenlock. "Your will is your law, and what you have power to do, *that* you will do; and seeing that the jury must go forth on my life, this I have to say to you in the fear of the living God: 'Jury, take heed what you do, for you swear by the living God, that you will true trial make, and just verdict give, according to the evidence; What have I done to deserve death? Keep your hands out of innocent blood.'"

A Jurymen. "It is good counsel."

The jury retired, but not before "they had received their lesson." They soon returned, and either from a fear of offending the Court, or from a prejudice against Quakers, brought the prisoner in guilty.

Wenlock. "I deny all guilt, for my conscience is clear in the sight of God."

Endicott. "The jury hath condemned thee."

Wenlock. "The Lord doth justify me, who art thou that condemnest?"

The Court then proceeded to vote on the sentence of death; there were, however, several who were opposed to this extreme measure; for the innocency and Christian magnanimity of the prisoner, had produced a counter feeling in their minds. Endicott, vexed, and disappointed at this want of unanimity, passionately throwing something down on the table, told the Court that he "could find it in his heart to go home."

Wenlock replied, "It were better for thee to be at home than here, for thou art about a bloody piece of work."

Endicott. "You that will not consent record it. I thank God, I am not afraid to give judgment. Wenlock Christison, hearken to your sentence: You must return to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you must be hanged until you be dead, dead, dead, upon the thirteenth day of June, being the fifth day of the week."

Wenlock. "The will of the Lord be done: In whose will I came amongst you, and in whose counsel I stand, feeling his eternal power, that will uphold me to the last gasp, I do not question it. Known be it unto you all, that if you have power to take my life from me, my soul shall enter into everlasting rest and peace with God, where you yourselves shall never come: and if you have power to take my life from me, the which I question, I believe, you shall never more take Quakers lives from them. Note my words: Do not think to weary out the living God by taking away the lives of his servants. What do you gain by it? For the last man you put to death here are five come in his room.* And if you have power "to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion: for there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God."

Endicott. "Take him away."†

Wenlock Christison was reconducted to his cell, where in "sweet peace" and pious resignation of soul he waited the arrival of the day, when he should be called upon to offer up his life for the sake of his dear Redeemer. The circumstances, however, which followed, evince that in his concluding address to the Court, he spoke under that holy influence which is profitable to direct, and which verifies the Scripture declaration, that "there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding."

* The five were, Elizabeth Hooton, Joane Brocksoppe, Mary Mallins, Katharine Chattam, and John Burstow.

† New England Judged, p. 336.

The day drew near on which it was determined to enact on the person of Wenlock Christison, another of the dreadful scenes on Boston Common. But whilst the infatuated rulers of the colony were thus pursuing their barbarous career, not only had the news of their cruelties reached the shores of Old England, but an echo of the indignation excited there was now heard in Massachusetts. The fall of the Puritan government in the mother country, and the accession of Charles II. were circumstances which the bigoted governors of the province heard about this time with much anxiety. They were conscious that, independently of their Quaker persecutions, they had violated the laws of the realm, and had assumed powers which the charter did not confer upon them. The sympathy existing between the Puritans of New England and the government at home had, during the times of the Protectorate, quieted any feelings of uneasiness and calmed all apprehension. But the case was now changed. The royalists were again in power, and instead of having in the British government, powerful partisans of their cause, they had to deal with authorities who watched them with a jealous eye, and from whom they could expect at least no favour. They, therefore, naturally felt that their situation was a critical one, and that no time should be lost in endeavouring to redeem their character, as good colonial subjects. The life of Wenlock Christison was saved, and not only so, but, on the day preceding that fixed for his execution, an order was issued for his liberation, and for that of twenty-seven other Friends then in Boston prison.*

The fear which actuated the zealots of New England to abandon their murderous course towards the unresisting sufferers, had the effect, not of inducing them to relinquish religious persecution altogether, but to render it less manifestly illegal. As a substitute for the law of banishment on pain of death, they passed

* The names of most of those who were liberated on this occasion were John Chamberlain, John and Margaret Smith, Mary Trask, Judith Brown, Peter Pearson, George Wilson, John Burstow, Elizabeth Hooton, Mary Mallins, Joane Brocksoppe, Katherine Chattam, Mary Wright, Hannah Wright, Sarah Burden, Sarah Coleman and three or four of her children, Ralph Allen, William Allen and Richard Kirby.

a new one for banishment on pain of a whipping from town to town out of the province. When the officers came to open the prison doors to Wenlock Christison and his companions, they informed them that their liberation was in consequence of the passing of the new law. On hearing this Wenlock said, "What means this?—You have deceived the people,—they thought the gallows had been your last weapon; your magistrates said your law was a good and wholesome law, made for your peace and the safeguard of your country. What! are your hands now become weak? The power of God is over you all."*

Peter Pearson and Judith Brown, two of those who were released, were, however, first whipped through Boston streets, both having been stripped to the waist, and fastened to the tail of a cart in preparation for the inhuman punishment. These Friends were strangers in the colony, and the cause of their being thus singled out for the application of the whip, we presume, was that they had been previously banished.

That the new enactment might appear to have the authority of English law, those that suffered under it were wrongly stigmatized as vagabonds. Great were the severities to which its provisions still subjected Friends, as will appear in the ensuing pages. Indeed it was not until those who had been foremost in instigating these persecutions, had been summoned by the angel of death to stand before a higher tribunal, that such inhumanities ceased in that highly professing country.

The faithful messengers of the Lord, who were thus unexpectedly released from bondage, were concerned almost immediately on leaving the gaol, to preach to the inhabitants those truths for which they had suffered. The magistrates, already at their wits end, in fruitlessly endeavouring to arrest the spread of Quaker principles, being impatient at this fresh manifestation of devotedness, ordered a guard of soldiers to drive all the Friends out of their territory into the wilderness; an order which was speedily executed. John Chamberlain an inhabitant of Boston, and George Wilson, were among those who were thus forcibly

* New England Jugged, p. 341.

expelled; but, undismayed by the new law for the application of the whip, they returned at once to their homes. There they were quickly apprehended, and were sentenced to undergo a flogging through three towns and to be put out of the limits of the colony. The executioner, desirous of lending his ingenuity to increase the severity of the sentence, provided himself with a singularly constructed whip, or as it is called a "cruel instrument," with which he "miserably tore" the bodies of the two sufferers. Such was the new and barbarous character of the weapon used on this occasion, that Friends endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to obtain it, in order to send it to England, as another proof of the malignant cruelty which actuated the rulers of Massachusetts towards the new Society.

At the conclusion of the whipping at Boston, George Wilson, in the midst of his persecutors, knelt in solemn supplication to the Most High. John Chamberlain became convinced of the principles of Friends, by witnessing the triumphant end of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson. In common, however, with others in Boston, who embraced these views, it was his lot to suffer severely for his conscientious convictions. Within two years from the time of his conviction, he was not only imprisoned and banished, but subjected to cruel whippings through three towns, of Massachusetts: yet, observes a contemporary, "so far from beating him *from* the truth, it rather drove him nearer to it."* Through all his sufferings he appears to have been supported in much christian cheerfulness.

Josiah Southwick and Nicholas Phelps, who, on their banishment, in 1659, proceeded to England, together with Samuel Shattock, to obtain redress for their grievances, having been unsuccessful in their endeavours, by reason of the favouritism still shewn to the province of New England, returned to their homes about the time that the new law for whipping was passed. Nicholas Phelps, whose constitution was much weakened, died soon after. Josiah Southwick, desirous that the rulers might know that he had returned, proceeded to Boston, and appeared

* New England Judged, p. 353.

boldly before them. He was soon placed under arrest, and after an imprisonment of nine weeks, was brought before the court of assistants in the Seventh Month, 1661. The governor told him that he would have been tried for his life, had not their new law been passed, and then pronounced on him the sentence of whipping. Josiah, with arms outstretched, and in a spirit which rose superior to their cruelty, said "Here is my body; if you want a further testimony to the truth I profess, take it and tear it in pieces; it is freely given up; and for your sentence I matter it not. It is no more terrifying to me, than if ye had taken a feather and blown it up in the air." "Tongue cannot express," said he, "nor declare the goodness and love of God to his suffering people."*

The sentence was executed, as usual, with great severity, but the faithful sufferer was so divinely supported, that during its infliction he broke forth in praises to the Lord. "They that know God to be their strength," he said, "cannot fear what man can do." On the First-day he was whipped through Boston and Roxbury, and the next morning at Dedham, from whence he was carried fifteen miles into the wilderness. Disregarding, however, the threats, and unmoved by the cruel conduct of the magistrates, he immediately returned to his home at Salem, which he reached on the following morning.

While these scenes were passing in Massachusetts, the truth was steadily gaining ground in the more charitable territory of Rhode Island. George Rofe of Halstead, in Essex, one of the earliest ministers in the Society, having travelled much in his own land, and on the continent of Europe, visited the latter colony and some parts adjacent in 1661. Afterwards being in Barbadoes, he wrote to Richard Hubberthorne; and as his letter contains some interesting particulars of his religious engagements in America, it is subjoined.

* New England Judged, p. 356.

FROM GEORGE ROFE TO RICHARD HUBBEETHORNE.

Barbadoes [date not discoverable.]

“ DEAR BROTHER R. H.

“ The last winter, I wintered in Maryland and Virginia, in great service for the establishing of many, and bringing others into the truth ; many Friends are in those parts in whom the precious life is. From thence I sailed in a small boat, with only two Friends, to New Netherlands and so to New England, having good service among both Dutch and English ; for I was in the chief city of the Dutch and gave a good sound, but they forced me away ; so we got meetings through the islands in good service, and came in at Rhode Island, and we appointed a general meeting for all Friends in those parts, which was a very great meeting and very precious, and continued four days together, and the Lord was with his people and blessed them, and all departed in peace : there is a good seed in that people, but the enemy keeps some under through their cruel persecution, yet their honesty preserves them, and the seed will arise, as way is made for the visitation of the power of good to have free liberty amongst them. From thence I came about four months ago to this island, where the truth hath good dominion, and Friends are very precious, and grow in the feeling and sensibleness of the power of God : Farewell, I am in great haste at present,

“ Thy truly loving brother,



A circumstance mentioned in this letter deserves our particular notice. George Rofe refers to a General Meeting held on Rhode Island, “for all Friends in those parts.” Several meetings of this character had already been convened in England. The first of which we have any account took place at Swanington in Leicestershire in 1654.* One was held at Edge Hill in the

* Sewel, p. 93.

same county in 1656 ;* another in that year at Balby in Yorkshire ;† and in 1658 a very memorable one was convened at the house of John Crook in Bedfordshire.‡ That referred to, however, by George Rofe appears to have been the first of the kind held on the continent of America. Bishop alludes to this meeting and says, under date of 1661, “about this time the General Meeting at Rhode Island was set up.”§ The numbers who attended it were so considerable that at Boston, the enemies of the Society raised “an alarm that the Quakers were gathering together to kill the people.|| It is to be regretted that no further account of this “very great meeting” has been preserved, for doubtless, though it was probably for the most part a meeting for worship, the transactions during the four days which it occupied, would have presented to our notice many points of interest.

* G. Fox's Journal, vol. i. p. 383, and Life of W. Caton.

† Rules of Discipline, 3rd Edition, Introduction.

‡ Sewel, p. 172.

§ New England Judged, p. 351.

|| Ibid, p. 351.

CHAPTER XIII.

The authorities of Massachusetts address Charles II.—Their misrepresentations of Friends therein—Edward Burrough writes to the king and confutes the statements—The New England persecutions attract the notice of the king—The news of Leddra's death reach England—Edward Burrough has an interview with the king, and obtains a mandamus to stop these atrocities—Edward Burrough has another interview with the king—Samuel Shattock, an exiled colonist, is appointed by the king to convey the mandamus to New England—His arrival there—The delivery of the mandamus to Endicott and his deputy—A meeting held by Friends at Boston—The character of the mandamus—The liberation of Friends from Boston gaol—The forebodings of the rulers of Massachusetts—They send deputies to England to palliate their conduct—The proceedings of the deputies, and failure of their mission—Their fear of being indicted for murder, and hasty return home—Their cool reception by the colonists—Some notice of the attempts made to justify the conduct of the Pilgrim Fathers towards the Society of Friends.

THE rulers of Massachusetts, soon after the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II., sent an address to the king, expressive of their loyalty to his person and government. In this address they alluded to the fact of their having put to death some Friends at Boston, which, they were aware, excited much notice in Britain. And with a view to justify their conduct in this respect, they represented Friends of New England as a people of the most odious and audacious description. "Open blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord's Christ, the blessed gospel, and from the holy Scriptures as the rule of life; open enemies to the Government itself, as established in the hand of any but men of their own principles; malignant promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our Church and State."* With this strain and these

* Burrough's Works, p. 758.

epithets they sought to villify before the king the objects of their malice.

The presentation of the address was watched with considerable interest by Friends in England. Edward Burrough entered deeply into the case of his suffering brethren in America, and in order to undeceive the king, sent him "some considerations" on the address in question. "Oh King," he commences, "this my occasion to present thee with these considerations is very urgent, and of great necessity, even in the behalf of innocent blood, because of a paper presented to thee, called 'The humble petition and address of the General Court at Boston, in New England;' in which are contained divers calumnies, unjust reproaches, palpable untruths, and malicious slanders against an innocent people. It is hard to relate the cruelties that have been committed against this people by these petitioners: they have spoiled their goods, imprisoned many of their persons, whipped them, cut off their ears, burned them, yea, banished and murdered them: and all this I aver and affirm before thee, O King, wholly unjustly and unrighteously, and without the breach of any just law of God or man; but only for and because of *difference in judgment and practice concerning spiritual things*."* After refuting the charges of blasphemy, &c., Edward Burrough refers to another, in which they are represented as persons of "impetuous and desperate turbulency to the State, civil and ecclesiastical." "Let it be considered," he says, "what their dangerous and desperate turbulency was to States, civil and ecclesiastical. Did ever these poor people, whom they condemned and put to shameful death, lift up a hand against them, or appear in any turbulent gesture towards them? Were they ever found with any carnal weapon about them? or, what was their crime, saving that they warned sinners to repent, and the ungodly to turn from his way? We appeal to the God of heaven on their behalf, whom they have martyred for the name of Christ, that they had no other offence to charge upon them, saving *their conversations, doctrines, and [religious] practices*.

* Burrough's Works, p. 758.

It is fully believed by us, that these sufferers did not go into New England in their own cause, but in God's cause, and in the movings of his Holy Spirit, and in good conscience towards him. They did rather suffer the loss of their own lives for their obedience towards God, than to disobey him to keep the commandments of men. The blood of our brethren lieth upon the heads of the magistrates of New England. They are guilty of their cruel death ; for they put them to death, not for any evil doing between man and man, but for their obedience to God, and for good conscience sake towards him."*

Edward Burrough continues thus :—" Again, these petitioners fawn and flatter in these words—' Let not the king hear men's words ; your servants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change ; zealous of government and order. We are not seditious to the interest of Cæsar, &c.' In answer to this, many things are to be considered ; why should the petitioners seem to exhort the king not to hear men's words ? Shall the innocent be accused before him, and not heard in their lawful defence ? Must not the king hear the accused as well as the accusers, and in as much justice ? I hope God hath given him more nobility of understanding, than to receive or put in practice such admonition ; and I desire it may be far from the king ever to condemn any person or people upon the accusation of others, without full hearing of the accused, as well as their enemies, for it is justice and equity so to do, and thereby shall his judgment be the more just."† " Thus," he concludes, " these considerations are presented to the king, in vindication of that innocent people called Quakers, whom these petitioners have accused as guilty of heinous crimes, that themselves might appear innocent of the cruelty, and injustice, and shedding of the blood of just men, without cause. But let the king rightly consider of the case between us and them, and let him not hide his face from hearing the cry of innocent blood. For a further testimony of the wickedness and enormity of these petitioners, and to demonstrate how far they had proceeded contrary to the good laws and authority of England,

* Burrough's Works, p. 760.

† Ibid, p. 762.

and contrary to their own patent, hereunto is annexed, and presented to the king, a brief of their unjust dealings towards the Quakers."*

Edw: Burrough

What effect this appeal of Edward Burrough had on the mind of Charles II. has not been stated, but there is good reason to believe that it was the means of opening the eyes of that monarch to the intolerant disposition of his subjects in Massachusetts. In the early part of 1661, George Bishop of Bristol, published his "New England Judged," a work to which we have made frequent allusion, and wherein is set forth a very circumstantial account of the sufferings of Friends in that Province. A copy of the work soon found its way to the palace. The king, evidently interested with the book, was much struck with that part of it, wherein Denison, an active persecutor, is stated to have said, in contempt of the authorities at home, to a Friend who appealed to the laws of England, against his cruel and illegal course. "This year ye will go and complain to the Parliament; and the next year they will send to see how it is; and the third year the government is changed."† The language of Denison forcibly impressed the king with the idea, that the loyalty of his subjects in that colony, was not that which they had professed towards him in their recent address. He paused in his reading, and calling his courtiers about him, directed their attention to the passage, and very significantly remarked, "Lo, these are my good subjects of New England, but I will put a stop to them."‡

Friends in England had not been unmindful of their persecuted brethren in America, throughout their sufferings, but in the apprehension that the law for banishing them on pain of death had been suspended, the anxiety before felt was considerably relieved. This was the state of feeling on the subject, until the summer of 1661, when news arrived, that another

* Burrough's Works, p. 763.

† p. 66.

‡ Sewall, p. 272.

Friend, viz. William Leddra, had been brought to the gallows at Boston.

On hearing the affecting intelligence, and also that others were sentenced to suffer in like manner, Friends in England saw the necessity of making immediate and strenuous efforts to stay the martyring hand in Massachusetts. Edward Burrough, who was a courageous and powerful advocate on behalf of the persecuted Society, determined at once to seek an interview, and to plead in person with the king on the subject. It was also now pretty well known, that Charles II. looked with a suspicious eye on the professed loyalty of his New England subjects. Puritan ascendancy had brought his father to the scaffold, and Puritan power and influence had long deprived him of his legitimate accession to the throne. The remembrance of these things, and his knowledge of the recent unconstitutional proceedings of the colonists, in not permitting appeals to England, according to the express condition of their charter, were likely to produce a jealous feeling in the mind of the king. The application of Burrough met with a hearty response, and the monarch readily listened to the charges against the authorities at Boston.

On being admitted to the presence of the king, Edward Burrough informed him, "that there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if it were not stopped, would overrun all." His anxiety for the jeopardied lives of his brethren was soon relieved. The king replied decisively, "but I will stop that vein." "Then do it speedily," rejoined Edward Burrough, "for we know not how many may soon be put to death." "As speedily as ye will," answered the king; and turning to his attendants he said, "call the Secretary and I will do it presently." The Secretary having arrived, the following mandamus was immediately granted:—

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, Having been informed, that several of our subjects among you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in

danger to undergo the like ; we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future ; and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people called Quakers, amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death, or other corporal punishment ; or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein ; but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into their own kingdom of England, together with their respective crimes or offences laid to their charge ; to the end such course may be taken with them here, as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.

“ Given at our Court, at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign.

“ To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicott, Esq., and to all and every other the governor or governors of our plantations of New England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be ; and to all and every the ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies whatsoever, within the continent of New England.

“ By his Majesty’s command,

“ WILLIAM MORRIS.”*

That much more passed between the king and Edward Burrough, on this interesting occasion cannot be doubted. The brief relation we have given, is however, all that history has handed down respecting the interview.

The mandamus having been granted, Friends were anxious for its speedy transmission to Boston. The indefatigable Burrough, fully alive to the importance of preventing any unnecessary delay in a matter wherein the lives of his friends were concerned, a day or two after sought another audience of the king. As in the former instance, the interview was readily granted. Edward Burrough having expressed his desire for dispatch in the business, the king replied that “ he had no occasion at present to send a ship to New England ; but if they (meaning Friends) would send

* Sewal, p. 272.

one, they might do it as soon as they could."* The king, with a view to facilitate the object, having thus proposed to depart from the usual mode of conveying official despatches, Edward Burrough was encouraged to ask him, "If he would grant his deputation, to carry the mandamus to New England, to a Quaker." The king replied, "Yes, to whom you will."† This favourable answer led Edward Burrough to propose to the king the name of the banished Samuel Shattock. The proposal undoubtedly was a bold one. Samuel Shattock was the only remaining exile from Massachusetts, then in England, and the penetrating mind of Edward Burrough quickly perceived that to entrust the mandamus to an individual so circumstanced, would be a most effective and significant mode to adopt, in the Sovereign manifesting his indignation at the cruel and illegal transactions of his New England subjects. The king approved of the suggestion, and the persecuted Shattock was forthwith authorized to proceed to New England, as the king's messenger with the mandamus.

The attention of Friends was next directed to the most speedy mode of conveying Samuel Shattock to Boston. The subject was of so urgent a character, that expense was felt to be a secondary consideration. An agreement was soon made with Ralph Goldsmith, a Friend, the master of a "good ship," to sail "goods or no goods," in ten days for Boston, for the sum of three hundred pounds. The master immediately prepared for sailing. The voyage was a prosperous one, and in about six weeks, the vessel anchored in Boston harbour; the day of their arrival being on First-day. A ship with English colours having entered the harbour, some of the citizens anxious to have the letters, and also to learn the news which she might bring from the old country, soon went on board. It had been previously arranged by Samuel Shattock and the master, that the object of their coming should be kept strictly private until after their interview with Endicott the governor. The citizens who came on board, were told that no letters would be delivered on the First day. They returned and reported that a ship-load of

* Sewel, p. 272.

† Ibid. p. 272.

Quakers had arrived, and among them the banished Shattock. The report, whilst it was calculated to produce consternation among the authorities, must also have singularly impressed the inhabitants at large.

In pursuance of the plan agreed on, none of the ship's company were permitted to land on the day of their arrival. On the following morning Samuel Shattock, bearing with him the official document, and accompanied by the Captain, went on shore. The boatmen having been ordered to return to the ship, the two Friends immediately proceeded to the residence of the governor. Here the porter desired to know their business. "Our business," they replied, "is from the king of England." And having desired him to inform his master "that they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself,"* they were forthwith ushered into his presence. Endicott observing Samuel Shattock enter with his hat on, ordered it to be taken off. Shattock now produced the mandamus and his credentials as the king's messenger. Endicott was amazed and confounded. The despised Quaker colonist, whom he had driven from his country and his home, stood before him as the representative of his Sovereign, bearing with him a crushing token of the royal anger. Endicott however did not forget the requisitions of court etiquette. The hat of the banished Quaker was ordered to be handed to him, and as a recognition of the presence of the king's deputy, he immediately took off his own. Having read the papers, and withdrawn for a short time, the governor returned and requested the two Friends to accompany him to the house of Bellingham, the deputy governor. At this place the two authorities conferred together on the new position in which the colony was placed, by virtue of the mandamus, and then briefly said to Shattock and his companion, "We shall obey his Majesty's commands."†

After these interviews, Captain Goldsmith returned to his ship, and landed the passengers, who speedily held a religious meeting with their friends of the town, to return thanksgiving to the Father of all their sure mercies, for so signal a manifestation of

* Sewel, p. 274.

† Ibid. p. 274.

his providence, in delivering them from the oppression of bigoted and cruel men.

The purport of the royal mandamus, together with the fact of a banished Quaker being sent as its official bearer, as might be imagined, greatly disconcerted the rulers of Massachusetts. The royal instructions took all power of adjudicating the case of any Friend then in prison, out of the hands of the colonial authorities. They were "to forbear to proceed any further therein," but immediately to send all under condemnation or imprisonment to England. Endicott and his fellow rulers saw that the effect of sending their Quaker prisoners to England, in the manner authorised by the mandamus, would be to furnish the king with potent witnesses against themselves. To avoid so dangerous a dilemma was therefore important. To effect this, however, but one safe course was open to them, and that was, to have no such prisoners to send; and, acting upon this conclusion, all the Friends then in the gaol were quickly liberated by the following order.

"To WILLIAM SALTER, keeper of the prison at Boston.

"You are required, by authority and order of the General Court, to release and discharge the Quakers, who at present are in your custody. See that you do not neglect this.

"By order of the Court,

"EDWARD RAWSON, Sec."*

"*Boston, 9th December, 1661.*"

A day of reckoning for the despotic and illegal course which the zealots of New England had pursued, appeared now to be hastening upon them, and conscious of their guilt, they exerted themselves to avert the dreaded result of their misrule. Immediately on the liberation of Friends from Boston prison, they deemed it advisable to dispatch a special messenger to the king, to inform him of their ready compliance with his royal will; and soon after to send a deputation to England to palliate their unlicensed severities, and to watch proceedings in connexion with the business. The parties chosen for this unenviable

* Sewel, p. 274.

task were, Norton, a minister of Boston, who had been conspicuous in promoting these cruelties, and Simon Broadstreet, a persecuting magistrate. The deputies having arrived in England, proceeded to London, where, remarks Sewel, "they endeavoured to clear themselves as much as possible, but especially priest Norton, who bowed no less reverently before the archbishop, than before the king."*

During the stay of Norton and Broadstreet in London, Friends had several interviews with them, on the object of their mission. It was notorious that they had themselves been deeply concerned in the New England barbarities; Norton, however, fearing the consequence of admitting the fact, denied all participation in the extreme proceedings at Boston. This departure from truthfulness failed to protect him, for John Copeland, who had had an ear cut off, happening to be in London at the time, came forward and confronted his statement. Broadstreet, less equivocating, did not deny that he was one of the magistrates who had given his voice for the execution of Friends, and openly attempted to justify his conduct.

George Fox being present at one of these interviews, remonstrated strongly with them on their horrible proceedings, and asked them whether they would acknowledge themselves to be subject to the laws of England. Broadstreet replied, "They were subjects to the laws of England, and they had put his friends to death by the same law as the Jesuits were put to death in England."

George Fox. "Do ye believe that those Friends whom ye have put to death were Jesuits, or jesuitically inclined?"

Deputies. "No."

George Fox. "Then you have murdered them, for since ye put them to death by the law that Jesuits are put to death here, and yet confess they were no Jesuits; it plainly appears ye have put them to death in your own wills, without any law."

Broadstreet finding himself and his companion ensnared by their own words, asked, if he came "to catch them?"

George Fox. "Ye have caught yourselves, and may be justly

* Sewel, p. 279.

questioned for your lives ;” and added that if the father of William Robinson were in town, it was probable he would question them, and bring their lives into jeopardy.*

The deputies alarmed at their perilous situation, began, says George Fox, “to excuse themselves, saying ‘there was no persecution now amongst them ;’ but, the next morning we had letters from New England, giving us account that our friends were persecuted afresh. Thereupon we went to them again, and showed them our letters, which put them both to silence and to shame.”†

Norton and Broadstreet thus confronted, were perplexed and in great fear lest they should be indicted for murder. Broadstreet became particularly uneasy, because he had openly confessed himself a party to the executions, though subsequently he attempted to dispute it. Some of the old Royalists, who had no sympathy with Puritan dissent, earnestly endeavoured to prevail upon Friends to commence a prosecution ; but George Fox and his friends declined, saying, that “They left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belongeth, and he would repay.”‡

The father of William Robinson who was not a Friend, being unwilling to let the murder of his son pass so quietly by, proceeded to London§ with a view to institute an inquiry and to interrogate the deputies respecting his death. Norton and Broadstreet, dreading the consequences of his investigation, and feeling there was no safety for their lives whilst in England, prudently determined to return home, and thus a meeting between them and Robinson was avoided.||

This mission to England was a complete failure. The colonists, indeed, were so sensible of this, that the two deputies on their return to Massachusetts, met with a cool reception. “Whether,”

* Journal of George Fox, Leeds Ed. vol. i. 549 ; and Sewal’s History, p. 280.

† Ibid, vol. i. p. 549.

‡ Sewal, p. 280.

§ By an observation in a letter written by Alexander Parker about this time, there is reason to believe that William Robinson’s father lived in Cumberland.

|| See Coddington’s Demonstration, p. 8.

remarks the historian Neal," they flattered the Court too much, or promised more for their country than they ought, is uncertain; but when Norton came home, his friends were shy of him, and some of the people told him to his face that he had laid the foundation of the ruin of their liberties; which struck him to the heart, and brought him into such a melancholy habit of body, as hastened his death."

Before we pass on to other subjects, it may be well to notice the attempts which have been made, to explain and justify the cruelties exercised by the Pilgrim Fathers to the Society of Friends in New England. The attempted vindications, from that time down to the present day, have greatly misrepresented the motives and the conduct of the early Friends in that country, and charges have been preferred against them wholly unfounded. It was natural to expect that the Puritan writers would endeavour, to the utmost, to defend the character of their brethren from the stigma which their persecuting policy had so justly fixed upon them, and thus we find Cotton Mather, the favourite historian of New England, reiterating the charges of "heresy," "blasphemy," "undermining civil government," &c., which the colonial authorities made to Charles II. "I appeal," says this partial writer, "to all the reasonable part of mankind, whether the infant colony of New England, had not cause to guard themselves against these dangerous villains."* The strictures which Edward Burrough presented to the king, on the charges in question, and to which allusion has already been made, render it unnecessary for us to expose their injustice. Mather, however, notwithstanding his extreme partiality on the subject, was conscious that his co-religionists had violated the laws of humanity and justice, a feeling which the following language plainly exhibits. "A great clamour," he observes, "hath been raised against New England, for their persecution of the Quakers; and if any man will appear in the vindication of it, let him do as he please; for my part I will not."†

* Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi*. Book 7. Chap. 4.

† *Ibid.* Book 7. Chap. 4.

But it is not so much to the early apologists of the New England persecutors, as to the mis-statements of their modern defenders, that we wish more particularly to direct our remarks. It was asserted a few years since in the *North American Review*, that Mary Fisher and Anne Austin were banished from Boston, for interrupting ministers in their places of worship. The same assertion was made in a discourse lately delivered in Philadelphia, on the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, with the additional statement that they went naked into the place of worship. The truth, however, is, that Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, before they had set foot on American ground, were arrested in the vessel in which they came, and taken directly to Boston gaol, where they remained until banished by the colonial authorities. So far, therefore, from going at all into the public religious assemblies of the town, as has been represented, the only building which they entered in New England was the place of their incarceration. The parties who made these unfounded statements did not probably know them to be false; but charges of this grave description, asserted without proper authority against innocent persons, for the purpose of vindicating the conduct of their persecutors, betray not only a culpable ignorance of the real facts, but also too eager a disposition to excuse wrong or justify oppression at the expense of truth.

Other recent publications characterise our early sufferers in that land, as "turbulent spirits, who disturbed the worship, and outraged the decent customs of the pious pilgrims;"* as a sect "not rising up on the soil of New England and claiming simply the right of separate worship;" but as "invaders, who came from Old England, for the sole and declared purpose of disturbance and revolution;" whose principles "struck at all order and of society itself." They are represented as "outraging peace and order; openly cursing and reviling," the magistrates and ministers, and the worship of the "Fathers," and interrupting the sermon "with outcries of contradiction and cursing;" "outraging natural

* Vide *The Knickerbocker*, an American periodical of Sixth Month, 1843.

decency itself," by "one of their women preachers," going unclothed through the streets of Salem, and "in other instances coming in the same plight into the public religious assemblies."*

The authors of this language, in their admiration of the general character of the Pilgrims of Massachusetts, and their descendants, and in the desire to extenuate, if not to justify, their cruel conduct towards Friends, have not only accepted as undeniably true, the refuted aspersions of the persecutors themselves, but have so blended these with erroneous statements of their own, and with transactions of a later period, as to give their readers the impression, that the Friends who were executed at Boston, were wild ungovernable fanatics. We may well exclaim with an early writer on this subject, "What will not envy misrepresent?"†

The assertion that the Early Friends in New England were a sect "not rising up on its soil," but "coming as invaders from Old England, for the sole and declared purpose of disturbance and revolution," is as wide a departure from truth, as it is calumnious in its character. Of the four who were executed at Boston, two it is true were from Old England, another came from Barbadoes; but the fourth, Mary Dyer, was one of the early settlers in the province. Almost the first indeed, who suffered under the law of banishment on pain of death, were inhabitants of Salem, and that too for "claiming simply the right of separate worship." No one conversant with the early history of New England, can be ignorant that a large amount of the sufferings of Friends in that province, was for merely absenting themselves from the authorized worship. Neal, partial as he was, admits that "several persons and families" were entirely ruined by the excessive fines and imprisonments imposed on this account.‡ The magistrate, in his eager pursuit after the victims of his bigotry, no longer recognised the ancient principle of English law, that every man's house is his asylum and castle. The sanctuary of home was violently

* Vide *Thirteen Historical Discourses on the completion of the two hundred years, from the beginning of the first church in New Haven*, by Leonard Bacon. New Haven, printed, 1839.

† Whiting's answer to Mather, p. 78.

‡ Neale's History of New England, vol. i. p. 304.

invaded by the authorities, to drag to church the lukewarm and disaffected.* Had some of the modern writers on these excesses, sufficiently borne in mind what were the views of the Pilgrims of Massachusetts on the subject of religious toleration, they would probably have felt less anxious to darken the characters of the early Friends, in order to shew that they merited their severities. "It is said," remarked a clergyman of Ipswich in Massachusetts, in 1645, "that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. It is an astonishment, that the brains of a man should be parboiled in such impious ignorance."† President Oakes said in 1673, that he looked "upon toleration as the first born of all abominations."‡ To the prevalence of sentiments such as these, among the rulers and ecclesiastics of New England, and the practical application of them by the State, and not from any misconduct of our Friends, may be traced the cause of all their sufferings in that land; a view which we find thus ably expressed in one of the recent publications of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. "We contemplate with horror the fires of Smithfield; the dungeons and auto da fes of the Inquisition; the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the penalties of the Star Chamber. But the un pitying and remorseless sentence of Endicott the governor, who, on one occasion, told his prisoner, 'renounce your religion or die,' and the sanguinary denunciations of the General Court, fill us with equal dismay. That they who had preached such purity of life and conduct to mankind; that they who had been exposed to the terrors of persecution and fled from it; that they, forgetful of their own precepts, and the lessons of their own sad experience, should pursue to banishment and death, almost every species of nonconformity; displays to us recesses in the human mind, which point to a dark and unexplored labyrinth in its devious and impenetrable depths."§

* Felt's Annals, p. 257.

† Ward in Belknap.

‡ Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. i. p. 71.

§ Vide Discourse on the Colonial History of the Eastern and some of the Southern States, vol. iv. part 2.

Much that is untrue has been written of Friends for venturing into the public places of worship in Massachusetts. They are said on these occasions, to have "thrust themselves into worshiping assemblies, and interrupted the worship or the sermon, with outcries of contradiction and cursing."* In New England, as in Old England, some of our early ministers believed it required of them to enter the public places of worship, but in no one instance do we find, as has been alleged, that they interrupted the minister in his sermon. The few occasions on which they presented themselves before the congregations in New England, they did not attempt to address the assembly until the minister had concluded ; and then they were stopped, violently assailed and dragged to prison. Excepting Marmaduke Stevenson, however, the four Friends who were put to death at Boston, do not appear to have apprehended that this service was required of them ; the plea, therefore, of disturbing religious assemblies does not apply in the most extreme cases of Puritan cruelty. These suffered martyrdom for the mere profession and promulgation of their religious views.

It has been adduced as evidence of the grave misconduct of the early Friends in New England, and as palliating circumstances for the severities to which they were subjected, that natural decency was outraged by two women Friends going unclothed, one into the public place of worship in a small town, and the other through the streets of Salem. On investigation, however, it will be found that these extraordinary circumstances will not avail the apologists of the Fathers. When Deborah Wilson and Lydia Wardell went partially unclothed, in the manner described, a particular explanation of which will appear in the following chapter, it was not until nine years after the commencement of the New England cruelties of Friends, and four years after the last case of martyrdom, and when the persecution had very much subsided. This is a fact which the modern defenders of the Pilgrims have omitted to state, and by the absence of which, their readers are led to believe, that it was in consequence of these and other acts of misconduct, that the

* L. Bacon's Thirteen Discourses.

rulers of Massachusetts adopted their extreme measures towards Friends.

In justification of the policy of the Pilgrim Fathers, it has been alleged that the motive which led them to emigrate to Massachusetts, was in order that they might enjoy their religion to the exclusion of all others, and that to guard it from danger, defensive laws became needful. If this was their original design, they practised a deception on the parent state. Not only had they no warrant in their charters for such conduct, but their professions before obtaining them were opposed to such intentions. The miserable plea of necessity was but a plea for the adoption of ecclesiastical tyranny; a principle which, if admitted, at once justifies the Popish atrocities of Queen Mary's reign, and the Star Chamber and High Commission Court of her Protestant successors. The Jews and Roman Pagans, because their religion was in danger, persecuted the early Christians. On the same principle, the Roman Catholic Church persecuted the Protestants, and the Protestants the Puritans. If we excuse the heartless legislation of New England on this ground, we admit the plea in defence of cruelty and despotism from time immemorial.

Again, it has been said, that the political policy of the age was one of religious intolerance. This apology, however, is not a strictly true one. The Puritans in England, and the Huguenots in France, we know, tasted the bitter fruits of a dominant hierarchy; but in Holland, religious liberty was fully recognized by the State, and, indeed, the Puritans themselves lived there in perfect freedom. The same may be said of the dominions of the enlightened Gustavus of Sweden. Lord Baltimore, in the settlement of Maryland, pursued no restrictive legislation; and Roger Williams, in the settlement of Providence, and William Coddington and his Antinomian brethren, in founding the colony of Rhode Island, also adopted an universal toleration as the basis of their system. A few years later, the same liberal policy was recognized in the colonies of New York, Carolina, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. The colonial policy of New England, in the unrelenting treatment of dissidents to the religion of the Fathers, and the persecuting power of the church in its connection with

the State, fearfully invaded the rights of the subject, and which, in fact, were better secured in Britain during the times of Laud, than in New England in the days of Endicott. The severities endured by the Puritans in England were "lenient and indulgent, in comparison of the sufferings which they inflicted on those they termed heretics."* "In your heart," says Isaac Pennington, "ye have mistaken and dealt more injuriously with others, than ye yourselves were ever dealt with."†

* Vide *European Settlements in America*, vol. ii. p. 144.

† *Works*, Ed. 1681, p. 223.

CHAPTER XIV.

The persecution of Friends revived in Massachusetts—The travels and sufferings of Mary Tomkins, Alice Ambrose, and Ann Coleman—Elizabeth Hooton and Joane Brocksoppe visit New England and are expelled from Boston—Letter of J. Brocksoppe to Margaret Fell—Elizabeth Hooton again visits New England—her travels and sufferings there—Some account of the life of Elizabeth Hooton—Katherine Chattam visits New England—The travels and sufferings of Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, Jane Millard and Ann Coleman—Letter of Ann Coleman to George Fox—The sufferings and services of Thomas Newhouse—Letter of Joseph Nicholson to George Fox—Further sufferings and travels of Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose—Ann Richardson's gospel labours in New England—Visit of John Tysoe to Boston—Brief biographical notices—The persecution and gospel services of Edward Wharton—The sufferings of Friends of Salem and Hampton—Further sufferings of Wenlock Christison—The sufferings of Friends in New England begin to subside—Remarks on the constancy of Friends under persecution.

THE fear which had prompted the rulers at Boston to release Friends from prison on receiving the mandamus of their sovereign, and which also induced them to send Norton and Broadstreet to England, soon began to subside, when they saw that no further act followed, expressive of the king's displeasure towards them. The danger to which the colonial charter had been exposed by these zealots, and the critical situation of the lives of some of them, for abetting the executions on Boston Common, did not teach them a lasting lesson of wise forbearance, or convince them of the error of their cruel legislation. The narrow bigotry, that had already urged them to expatriate every sect that dared to dissent from their own religious opinions, was not corrected by these circumstances. It is true, that after the restoration of

the monarchy, they no longer banished settlers on account of their faith, or executed persons for professing the doctrines of Friends. Prudential motives alone dictated the policy of discontinuing these excesses. But the authorities of Massachusetts adhered with extraordinary tenacity to their exclusive system, in their zealous support of which, as our narrative will shew, they acted with great cruelty.

The first who suffered under the revival of persecution in New England in 1662, were Mary Tomkins, Alice Ambrose and Ann Coleman, three Friends from England who had come on a gospel mission to that country. We first meet with Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose on their way to Dover, a town on the river Piscataway in the northern part of Massachusetts, in company with Edward Wharton and George Preston of Salem. At Dover none had yet been convinced of our principles, and the four ministers took up their quarters at an inn. Soon after their arrival they were visited by many persons, who desired to know on what foundation Friends rested their faith and hope of salvation. With these inquirers they "had a good opportunity," and "some of them confessed to the truth."* The priest of Dover, being much disturbed by the preaching of the strangers among his people, accused them of "denying magistrates, ministers, the churches of Christ, and the three persons in the Trinity." These allegations were first replied to by Mary Tomkins, who after some dispute with the priest, said, "Take notice, people, this man falsely accuseth us; for godly magistrates, and the ministers of Christ, we own, and the churches of Christ we own, and that there are three that bear record in heaven, which three are the Father, Word, and Spirit, that we own." The priest then entered on a dispute with George Preston; but failing to maintain his argument, he became much excited, and "in a rage" left the company. The doctrines of the gospel were then unfolded to the people "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power;" a great and good meeting was held, and many were convinced of the truth.†

* New England Judged, p. 361.

† Ibid, p. 363.

From Dover the four Friends travelled into the province of Maine, where Major Shapley, a magistrate, who is described as "an inquiring man after truth," invited them to his house. Being desirous of promoting the cause of religion, he had for some time employed a priest to officiate at meetings which were held under his own roof, and with the same desire, he suggested that the priest and Friends should have some discussion. The priest, however, who was not so inclined, precluded an opportunity for it by going to a distant part. A meeting was soon held with the inhabitants, to whom the truth was declared. Major Shapley and his wife were convinced, and not only ceased to employ the priest, but permitted the meetings of Friends to be held in their house. The four gospel messengers after labouring in the province of Maine, where it is said, "they had very good service for the truth," proceeded to the western parts of New England.*

In the Tenth Month, 1662, Alice Ambrose and Mary Tomkins, visited in the love of the gospel, the individuals newly convinced on the Piscataway, in which service they were joined by Ann Coleman. The success that attended the gospel labours of Friends on the former visit, had greatly disconcerted the priest of Dover; and on the occasion of the visit of these three ministers, he instigated the authorities to persecute them. They were accordingly apprehended and taken before a magistrate. This functionary, as a prelude to the sentence he was about to impose, told them of the law that had been passed for whipping Friends out of the Colony. Mary Tomkins replied, "So there was a law that Daniel should not pray to his God." "Yes," rejoined the magistrate, "and Daniel suffered, and so shall you." The following warrant, drawn up by the priest, who acted as the magistrate's clerk on the occasion, was then issued.

"To the Constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Wenham, Lynn, Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and until these vagabond Quakers are carried out of this jurisdiction.

"You and every of you are required, in the king's majesty's

* New England Judged, p. 364.

name, to take these vagabond Quakers, Ann Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through your several towns, to whip them on their backs, not exceeding ten stripes a-piece on each of them, in each town, and so convey them from constable to constable, till they come out of this jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your peril : and this shall be your warrant.

" Per me,

" RICHARD WALDEN."

" *At Dover, dated Dec. 22nd, 1662.*"

An order thus to expose and torture three innocent women through eleven towns, extending over a distance of nearly eighty miles, under the inclemencies of a wintry season, was little, if any thing short of an order to persecute them to death. The cruel sentence was inflicted upon them at Dover, and the priest, to whom the revolting scene seems to have been attractive, "laughed," as he watched the lacerating effects of the knotted scourge on the naked bodies of his victims. The unfeeling conduct of this ecclesiastic called forth a reproof from two of the spectators ; but the magistrates, urged on by him, ordered them both to be placed in the stocks for this manifestation of sympathy. From Dover the sufferers were conveyed to Hampton, and from thence to Salisbury, at which places the lash was severely applied. In this season of extremity, the persecuted Friends were remarkably sustained by the Divine Arm, and the comforting presence of their Lord was so abundantly vouchsafed, "that they sang in the midst of their sufferings, to the astonishment of their enemies."*

The condition of the prisoners as they passed through Salisbury, fastened with ropes to the cart's tail with their "torn bodies and weary steps," excited the commiseration of the spectators ; and one of the inhabitants, after persuading the constable to pass the prisoners and the warrant into his hands as deputy, immediately gave them their liberty. The three Friends, being still impressed with the belief that it was required of them to return to Dover and its

* New England Judged, p. 367.

vicinity, on leaving Salisbury proceeded to the hospitable residence of their friend Major Shapley. Near his house they had a meeting, to which the minister of the place came. At the conclusion, hoping to confound the Friends before the people, he stood up and said, "Good women, ye have spoken well, and prayed well; pray what is your rule." "The Spirit of God," they replied, "is our rule, and it ought to be thine, and all men's to walk by."* Except that he denied the Spirit to be his guide, the priest, it appears, was not inclined to proceed further in the discussion.

Leaving Maine, the three gospel labourers returned to Dover. On the First-day of the week they assembled with their friends of this place for the solemn duty of worship, during which two constables entered; and whilst Alice Ambrose was engaged in prayer, they violently seized her, and in the most inhuman manner, dragged her through deep snow and over "stumps and trees for the distance of one mile."† Mary Tomkins was also taken and subjected to the same barbarous treatment. On the following morning, the constables, at the instigation of a "ruling Elder," informed the two Friends and Ann Coleman, that they should take them to the mouth of the harbour, where they should "put them in and so do with them that they should no more be troubled with them."‡ Their lives being thus atrociously threatened, the Friends objected to go to the harbour; the constables, however, impetuous in their wicked work, immediately seized Mary Tomkins, and dragged her on her back with such violence over the snow and stumps of trees, that she frequently fainted. Alice Ambrose shared no better; having been brought to the river, she was forcibly immersed to the imminent peril of her life. Ann Coleman was also unmercifully treated, so as greatly to endanger her life. The constables, whilst thus pursuing their abominable work, and encouraged it would appear by the approving presence of the Puritan "Elder," were providentially stopped from persisting in their wicked career, by the sudden rising of a "great tempest," which drove them to seek

* Sewel, p. 325.

† New England Judged, p. 371.

‡ Ibid, p. 371.

refuge in the house where their victims had been placed on the previous night. The three Friends were also taken back to the house, and at midnight, thrust forth to find such shelter as the woods might afford during the rigours of a wintry season. The preservation indeed, of the lives of these devoted women under such accumulated sufferings, must be attributed to a higher power than that of man.

Continuing their gospel labours in the northern parts of Massachusetts, Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose felt called, on a First-day, to go to the public place of worship at Hampton ; at the instance of the minister, however, they were not allowed to remain ; but they, nevertheless, found an opportunity to " declare the truth among the people." The enunciation of views differing from those of the ruling church " much tormented," some of the strict and formal professors of this town, more particularly a persecuting magistrate, who caused Mary Tomkins to be beaten, and Alice Ambrose to be placed in the stocks. Feeling that they had accomplished the service required of them in New England, the two Friends left it, and proceeded on a visit to other parts of America.

It has been already noticed that in the summer of 1661, Elizabeth Hooton and Joane Brocksoppe, two ministers from England, were prisoners at Boston, and that on their liberation they were forthwith driven from the colony into the wilderness ; through which, " amidst many dangers," they travelled until they arrived at Rhode Island. From this colony they went on a visit to the West Indies ; but believing that it was required of them to revisit New England, and testify against the spirit of persecution, they soon after returned to Boston. The authorities, however, being bent on their expulsion, caused them to be arrested and conveyed back to the ship in which they came. In this they returned to Virginia, and soon after to their native land.*

* The following letter, written by Joane Brocksoppe to Margaret Fell, after her first banishment from Boston, is still preserved among the Swarthmore MSS. Joane Brocksoppe was from Derbyshire in England.

" Barbadoes, this 9th of the Sixth Month, 1661.

" M. F.,

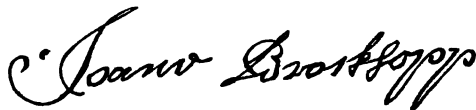
" Dear in the unchangeable love and life of my heavenly Father, do I

Elizabeth Hooton had not been long at home, before the duty of returning to New England, more particularly to Massachusetts, revived with increased weight and clearness. In making a third attempt to visit this persecuting colony, she deemed it advisable, in order to prevent banishment, to obtain if possible, a license from the king to settle in any of the colonies of Britain, and "to buy a house for herself to live in, Friends to meet in, and ground to bury their dead in."* She was in very sufficient circumstances, and the king, on being informed of her repeated expulsions from Massachusetts, readily granted the license. Thus authorized, she set sail in a ship bound for Boston, accompanied by her daughter Elizabeth. The captain of the vessel was not ignorant that those who should land Friends in that colony were liable to a heavy fine; but as his passenger was fortified with a royal permission, he felt secure against such an imposition. On their arrival at Boston, the authorities attempted to enforce a fine

dearly salute thee, who, in his everlasting love, hath called me to bear his testimony for his Name's sake, in which love and life I embrace thee, and have oft been refreshed in the remembrance of thee. Dear heart pray for me, that I may be kept in it for evermore; and as thou hast freedom and opportunity, remember my love to George Fox and R. W.; and my dear love is to all thy children, who am one of the least.

"Dear heart, I shall not make mention much of passages, because I expect other Friends have given large information; only this, by order of the Court at Boston, I and twenty-seven more Friends were set out of prison and driven out from constable to constable, till we were out of their jurisdiction. I am not yet clear of that country, but do expect to return thither again in some short time. I came at land here on this island, about a week since, where I found dear A. C. [Ann Cleaton] with Josiah Cole, whose dear love is remembered to thee. Several other Friends I found here also, by whom I was much refreshed, so fare thee well.

"Thy dear,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Isaac Brasthopp". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the text "Thy dear,".

"Elizabeth Hooton my companion dearly salutes thee."

* New England Judged, p. 411.

of one hundred pounds upon the captain, and they were only deterred from seizing his goods for the amount by the license in question.

Desirous of speedily accomplishing the object for which she came, Elizabeth Hooton made efforts to obtain a dwelling for herself and for the entertainment of her friends. The rulers, who had hitherto expelled every English Quaker preacher that had ventured within their limits, resolved that Elizabeth Hooton should not settle amongst them ; and, in contempt of the royal order, peremptorily refused to recognise her right to purchase land in the territory. After repeated but ineffectual solicitations to the authorities at Boston on this subject, she proceeded on her gospel mission to the northern parts of Massachusetts, in the course of which she was subjected to much cruel suffering. At Hampton she was imprisoned for testifying against the rapacity of a priest in seizing the goods of a Friend. At Dover, during very cold weather, she was placed in the stocks, and imprisoned for four days. Passing through Cambridge on her return, she felt called to exhort the inhabitants to repentance, an act of dedication for which she suffered still greater severities. At the instance of the magistracy, she was arrested, and for two days and two nights confined in a "noisome dungeon," without food, and without any thing to lie down or even to sit upon. It may be difficult to estimate the actual amount of physical hardship endured by one under such painful circumstances, but it will be readily imagined, that with the damp floor of a pestilential dungeon as the only resting-place of an aged female for forty-eight hours, in cold weather and without sustenance, her sufferings must have been exceedingly great. Whilst in this distressed condition, a Friend, touched with sympathy for her, brought her a little milk ; but for this act of Christian kindness, the authorities of Cambridge arbitrarily fined him five pounds, and committed him to prison. On the third day of her imprisonment, Elizabeth Hooton being brought before the Court, was sentenced to be whipped through three towns and expelled the colony. The sentence was executed with great rigour ; at Cambridge she was tied to the whipping-post, and received ten lashes ; at Watertown

she was beaten with ten strokes from willow rods ; and at Dedham ten lashes more "laid on with exceeding cruelty at a cart's tail." Miserably torn and bruised by these severities, the aged sufferer was now placed on horseback and carried into the wilderness, where she was left towards night in a defenceless condition to the inclemencies of winter. According to all human probability, her life would be sacrificed under such aggravated circumstances, and this, it seems, her inhuman persecutors had in view ; they hoped as they said, on leaving her in the forest wild, never to see her more. Their wicked design was, however, frustrated. She was remarkably cared for by her divine Master, and through "dismal deserts," and "deep waters," she was favoured at length to reach the town of Rehoboth, from whence she proceeded to her friends on Rhode Island, praising and magnifying Him who had so signally supported her under these grievous cruelties, and who had counted her worthy to suffer for his great Name.

Elizabeth Hooton, on her banishment from Cambridge, had not been permitted to take away her clothes and some other articles ; after staying, therefore, on Rhode Island, until she was "refreshed," she returned, in company with her daughter, to claim her property. Having obtained her object, and being on the way back to Rhode Island, with her daughter, and with Sarah Coleman an aged Friend of Scituate who happened to meet them in the woods, she was arrested and taken again to Cambridge, where they were all three immediately imprisoned. The authorities, in unison with their previous conduct, ordered the prisoners to be whipped in three towns, and to be sent out of their jurisdiction ; on the following morning, therefore, they received the usual number of ten stripes at Cambridge, and the same number in each of two other towns lying in the direction of Rhode Island.

Notwithstanding the cruelties to which Elizabeth Hooton had thus been repeatedly exposed, for entering Massachusetts, when she believed it was required of her by her Divine Master, she did not hesitate again to visit that colony. Before the close of the year in which she had been twice so cruelly expelled from its limits, she proceeded a third time to Boston, to preach, as it is

expressed, "repentance to the people;" but her message was received with scorn, and her warnings were unheeded. Here, as at Cambridge, she was committed to prison, and received the usual sentence of "vagabond Quakers." Pursuant to the cruel order, she suffered at the whipping-post in Boston, and at the cart's tail in the towns of Roxbury and Dedham, and was afterwards during the night, in her lacerated state, carried into the wilderness; she was however, enabled, though with great difficulty, to reach Rhode Island on the following day. Soon again she was impressed with the belief that it was required of her to return to Boston, and without "conferring with flesh and blood" this persecuted minister of Christ was faithful to the divine call. This act of dedication, however, was again followed with severe suffering. She was whipped from the prison in Boston, "to the end of the town," and afterwards in other towns and out of the jurisdiction; the threat being added, that "if ever she came thither again, they would either put her to death, or brand her on the shoulder."*

It does not appear how long Elizabeth Hooton remained in New England on the occasion of this visit; the grievous sufferings, however, to which she had been subjected, did not cause her to shrink from again visiting that land, when religious duty called her. At the time of Endicott's death, in the First Month, 1665, we find her again at Boston; and as she was imprisoned for attending the funeral of this notorious bigot, the probability is that she attempted to exhort the company against persecution, and to call their attention to the judgment of the Most High upon the deceased, as evinced in the miserable condition in which he died.† Twice afterwards she was imprisoned at Boston, once

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 231.

† "He was visited," says Besse, "with a filthy and loathsome disease, so that he stunk alive, and died with rotteness." It is a remarkable fact that many of those who were foremost in the persecution of Friends in New England, were either suddenly cut off, or ended their days miserably. Bellingham died distracted—Adderton, it has already been stated was thrown from his horse and died instantly—Norton, minister of Boston died suddenly, his last words being "the hand" or "judg-

at Braintree, and once at Salem ; at the latter place her horse was also taken away, which obliged her, in order to get to Rhode Island, to travel seventy miles on foot. Through all her trials and afflictions in this country, she was greatly comforted with the presence of her Saviour, in the precious enjoyment of which, she felt willing to endure much more for his sake, and for that of her fellow-creatures. "Yea," she observed, "the love that I bear to the souls of men, makes me willing to undergo whatsoever can be inflicted on me."*

ELIZABETH HOOTON.

As we shall not have occasion, in this division of the work, to refer again to Elizabeth Hooton, and as some brief sketch of her life will be expected, it may be suitably given in this place. She was born, it appears, at Nottingham, about the year 1600. Respecting her early life, but very few particulars can be collected. She was married to Samuel Hooton, of Skegby, in Nottinghamshire, who occupied a respectable position in society.

In 1647, she formed one of a company of serious persons, who occasionally met together ; and at this date George Fox mentions her as being "a very tender woman."† For three years subsequently, little is known of her life ; "the meetings and discourses," however, that she had with George Fox, appear to have

ment of the Lord is upon me."—Danfort, Captain of the Castle, was struck dead by lightning.—Webb, who led Mary Dyer to execution, was drowned.—Captain Johnson who led William Leddra to execution, became insane.—Dalton, a persecutor of Hampton, was killed by the falling of a tree—Marshall Brown of Ipswich, another persecutor, died "in great horror of mind."—Norris, minister of Salem, whilst vindicating in his pulpit the cruelties towards Friends, was struck dumb, and died soon after. "Many other particular persons," says Besse, "who had been noted instruments in carrying on the work of persecution, were afterwards observed to fall under several calamitous disasters and casualties, which were esteemed by those who knew them as tokens of the Divine displeasure manifested against them, by reason of the particular share of guilt which their personal concern in shedding innocent blood had brought upon them."—*Besse's Sufferings*, vol. ii. p. 270.

* New England Judged, p. 420. † G. Fox's Journal, vol. i. p. 90.

been the means of convincing her of the spiritual views of Friends. Sewel says that in 1650, "from a true experience of the Lord's work in man, she felt herself moved publicly to preach the way of salvation to others."* George Fox had hitherto been the only one who publicly preached our doctrines; she was, therefore, not only the first of her sex, but the second individual who appeared in this character in our religious Society. The preaching of women at this period was not considered singular. Several were known to be thus engaged among the various religious sects then in England. Elizabeth Hooton had not long followed her Lord in this high vocation, before her sincerity and faithfulness were tested by persecution. In 1651, she was imprisoned at Derby for reproving a priest; in the following year, while travelling in Yorkshire, she was apprehended at Rotherham for addressing the congregation at the close of public worship, and taken to York Castle, where, with her friend Mary Fisher, she was confined for sixteen months. In 1654, whilst on a gospel mission in Lincolnshire, she was imprisoned for five months at Beccingham, "for declaring the truth in the place of public worship." In the following year, she suffered three months imprisonment in the same county, "for exhorting the people to repentance." In the course of her early travels in the work of the ministry, she was also subjected to other kinds of suffering.

The extreme cruelties to which Friends in New England had been exposed, excited deep sympathy among their fellow-members at home: in this feeling, Elizabeth Hooton largely participated; and, though conscious that suffering was almost sure to await her, she left her home in 1661, under an apprehension of a religious call to this persecuting province. This transatlantic visit, and another which quickly followed it, occupied her for several years.

As a gospel minister, she appears to have stood high in the estimation of her friends; and although far advanced in age, when George Fox visited the West India islands and America in 1671, she was among those who accompanied him in this

* Sewel's History, p. 35.

capacity. They proceeded first to Barbadoes ; and after labouring there in word and doctrine, they sailed for Jamaica, where they arrived in the Eleventh Month. About a week after they landed on this island, Elizabeth Hooton was suddenly taken ill, and on the following day she died, being then about seventy years of age, having been a minister twenty-one years. In allusion to her death, George Fox makes this brief remark :— “ She departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing testimony to truth at her departure.”* Her call from time to eternity was sudden ; but, like the wise virgins in the parable, she was prepared, when the midnight cry was heard, to meet the Bridegroom at his coming, with her lamp trimmed and her light burning ; and is now, without doubt, participating in the full fruition of everlasting joy.

Annexed is a fac-simile of her signature :

Elizabeth Hooton

Another of those who, in 1661, were driven from Boston into the wilds of New England, was Katherine Chattam, of London. Soon after her arrival at Boston, she submitted, under a deep sense of religious duty, to the humiliating exposure of going among the people clothed in sackcloth, as a sign of the indignation of the Lord against the highly professing and cruel oppressors of that place. An imprisonment in the city gaol followed this act of dedication ; and at the time of her banishment, referred to in a previous chapter, she was also cruelly whipped at Dedham. These sufferings, however, did not deter her from again visiting Massachusetts ; and in the following year she proceeded a second time to Boston, to plead with its intolerant rulers. On this occasion, she was again arrested and imprisoned “ for a long time ; her life being greatly endangered by the hardships to which she was subjected during the winter season. She was afterwards married to John Chamberlain, a Friend of Boston, who has already been mentioned as a sufferer for the truth, and thus she became a settled inhabitant of that persecuting city.

* G. Fox's Journal, vol. ii. p. 154.

Some of the travels and sufferings of Ann Coleman in New England, during the year 1662, have already been noticed. Early in the following year, she was engaged in the work of her divine Master, on Rhode Island, together with Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, and Jane Millard, all of whom had recently come from England. In the summer of 1663, they believed it required of them to go on a gospel mission to the northern and eastern parts of New England. Passing northward, they visited Salem, where, at the instance of Hathorn, a persecuting magistrate, they were arrested; and, together with Thomas Newhouse, another gospel messenger to those parts, sentenced to be whipped as vagabonds in three towns, and expelled from the jurisdiction. The sentence was executed with such severity, and the thongs of the whip so lacerated the body of Ann Coleman, that for some time it was feared she would not survive the barbarous treatment.*

* A short time previous to her leaving Rhode Island on this visit, Ann Coleman addressed the following letter to George Fox:—

ANN COLEMAN TO GEORGE FOX.

“DEAR GEORGE FOX,

“Dear friend, the love of the Lord constraineth me to write to thee; Oh, the love of the Lord, who hath kept his handmaid that put her trust in Him. Dear George, if I should write all the cruelty that hath been acted to me, it would be much; five times I have been a prisoner; in their towns I have been whipped, beside stonings, and kickings, and stockings; but oh the power of the Lord which hath supported me. Dear George, good is the Lord, whose presence is with me; for this I can truly say, my life is over the enemies who rise up against the lambs of my Father's fold, who taketh them in His arms: Oh what shall I say unto thee of the love of my Father. And now I have seen the travail of my soul, and dwell in peace, and none can make me afraid: glory, glory unto the Lord saith my soul. Much service for the Lord in this land, and it hath not been in vain, and so my dear friend, let thy prayers be unto the Lord for me. Dear Jane Millard is in New England; Friends are much refreshed in her, and we both are bound in spirit to the East of New England, where there is a people newly raised; much service for the Lord I have had amongst them; it is in my heart to visit them. Jane Millard's dear love is to thee. Joseph Nicholson and John Liddal are at Rhode Island, where we have had some meetings

Subsequently these Friends proceeded to Dover. Here Joseph Nicholson was exposed to some cruel abuse, whilst his four companions were imprisoned for two weeks. They next journeyed to Hampton, where they were violently assaulted. Whilst at a meeting with their friends, "the constables with a rude company," actually destroyed a part of the building in which they were met, and then took them to prison.

Thomas Newhouse, on leaving this part of Massachusetts, went southward. At Boston, he attended the public place of worship, and on attempting to address the assembly, he was immediately taken before the magistrates, who sentenced him to be whipped there, at Roxbury and at Dedham, and then to be carried into the wilderness. Not feeling at liberty to leave this colony, after the infliction of this severity, he proceeded to Medfield, which at that time was one of the most inland towns of the province. He entered this place on a First-day, and finding it difficult to obtain a meeting with the inhabitants, he endeavoured to address them on their coming out of their meeting-house. In this attempt he received from some of the company "several sore blows;" he was also placed in the stocks at Medfield, and on the following day was whipped both there and at Dedham, and again driven into the wilds of the interior. While confined in the stocks, the interest excited caused the people to visit him, and he had, he observes, "good service for the Lord."*

The four other Friends, soon after their visit to Massachusetts, left New England for Barbadoes, from which place Joseph Nicholson addressed the following letter to George Fox, "The young man," who he says, "came with him from England," was doubtless

which have much refreshed us. Elizabeth Hooton is here, and their dear love is to thee. It is pretty well with Friends here. Dear friend, in that life and love that is unchangeable art thou near me. I cannot but say again, pray for me. I should be much refreshed to hear from thee, and so I rest thy dear friend and sister in the truth.

"ANN COLEMAN."

"*Rhode Island, this 6th day of the
Fifth Month, 1663.*"

* New England Judged, p. 471.

John Liddal, and the "little maid that came out of Kent," was Ann Coleman :—

JOSEPH NICHOLSON TO GEORGE FOX.

" Barbadoes, the 10th day of the last Month, 1663.

" G. F.,

" Dearly and well-beloved in the Lord, my love is to thee. I should be glad to hear from thee if it might be. I received a letter from thee in New England, written to Christopher Holder and me, wherein I was refreshed. I wrote to thee from Virginia about the last First Month, and since then I have been in New England about eight months. I passed through most parts of the English inhabitants, and also the Dutch. I sounded the mighty day of the Lord which is coming upon them, through most towns, and also was at many of their public worship houses. I was prisoner one night amongst the Dutch, at New Amsterdam ; I have been prisoner several times at Boston, but it was not long, but [I was] whipt away. I have received eighty stripes at Boston, and some other of the towns ; their cruelty was very great towards me, and others ; but over all we were carried with courage and boldness ; thanks be to God ! We gave our backs to the smiter, and walked after the cart with boldness, and were glad in our hearts in their greatest rage. Here is a young man that came with me from England ; he hath been with me for the most part ; since which we have had several meetings where never any were before, and many people were made to confess to the truth ; but the wicked rulers still keep the people much under by their cruelty. We had good service up and down amongst them while we stayed. I came to this island about twenty days ago from Rhode Island, and the young man with me ; and Jane Millard, and a little maid that came out of Kent, came with us ; they also suffered in New England, and did very good service indeed. The little maid hath thoughts to go to Nevis ; their dear love is to thee, and the young man's also. The power of God hath accompanied us all along ; to His name be the praise for evermore, who hath kept us faithful in all our trials. We hope thou will not forget us, and so I rest thy friend."

Joseph Nicholson

It has been stated that Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose on leaving New England in 1662, proceeded on a visit to Maryland and Virginia. Early in 1664, they both returned to Boston, when Mary Tomkins was taken so dangerously ill, that it was doubtful whether she would survive the attack. Her illness having become known to Friends of Salem, Edward Wharton and Wenlock Christison went to see her. While the sick stranger was lying in this critical state, two constables, who had watched the Salem Friends to her lodgings, entered the house, and in a most brutal manner took her and her companions before Endicott. The shock was so great to the invalid, that on her way to the house of the governor, she fell down in an apparently lifeless condition ; but so hardened had the constables become in pursuing the reckless work of persecution, that instead of conveying Mary Tomkins to her lodgings, they waited until she had a little revived, and then hurried her before the Court. Endicott evinced, on this occasion, that his malice towards Friends had in no degree abated ; and he actually sentenced the almost dying Friend and her companions, to be whipped in three towns and banished. The sentence, however, was regarded as such an outrage on humanity, and so great a fear was entertained that the sick woman would not survive its infliction, that at the intercession of Colonel Temple, it was not enforced, except on Edward Wharton.

Another gospel labourer who visited New England about this period was Ann Richardson, formerly Ann Burden, who had been banished from Boston with Mary Dyer in 1657. In the Tenth Month, 1663, we find her addressing George Fox from "Kittery Eastward in New England."* Subsequently she appears to have laboured in Maine and the northern parts of Massachusetts for several months, and for a time, to have been joined in her religious service by Elizabeth Hooton and Jane Nicholson. Early in 1665, she was engaged on Rhode Island.

John Tysoe, a tradesman of London, prepared soon after to leave his home on a gospel errand to Massachusetts. He arrived in Boston harbour early in 1667. Bellingham, who had succeeded Endicott as governor, hearing that a Quaker preacher had

* Swarthmore, MSS., vol. iii.

arrived from England, forthwith dispatched a constable to arrest him, and before John Tysoe had an opportunity of landing, he was seized and brought before the authorities. The governor, after venting his displeasure, questioned him as to his object in coming, and the intended duration of his visit. John Tysoe replied, that he "did not know how long he should stay, or whither he should go;" but that he "stood in the will of the Lord." After some conversation, introduced by Bellingham, on the subject of freedom from sin, which was disputed by Mather, a priest of Boston, but sustained by John Tysoe, they committed him to prison, and also fined the captain of the ship in which he came £100, unless he removed his passenger from their jurisdiction on "the first opportunity." In the Fourth Month, 1667, whilst in Boston prison, he wrote a remonstrance to the governor on their persecuting conduct. The address was couched in language of much Christian boldness. "Oh ye wretched men," he says, "God will plead with you! Was ever the flock of Christ Jesus found in your practices? Did ever the lambs kill wolves?" Alluding to their restrictive laws, he says, "and it seems in prison I must lie, till by your law I am forced to another land; but unto your cruel laws herein I dare not bow; for I may come again to this town, and honest men, who fear the Lord, may live here when your laws are vanished as smoke. In vain do ye strive, ye mortal men, the fruit of your doings will fall on your own heads, a weight too heavy for you to bear."* How long John Tysoe's imprisonment lasted does not appear. At this period he was in the 42nd year of his age. He died in 1700, aged 74, having been a minister for more than forty years. He suffered many imprisonments for his religion, one of these lasted nearly three years, and he was one of the Friends who, under sentence of banishment, were placed on board the vessel at Gravesend, in 1665, for transportation to Jamaica.

Respecting the lives of several of the gospel ministers mentioned in this chapter, but little information has been obtained. MARY TOMKINS and ALICE AMBROSE, before they crossed the Atlantic, appear to have been companions in the work of the ministry. It is recorded that in 1660 they were both imprisoned

* A Glass for the People of New England, by S. G., p. 35, 39.

at Lancaster for reproving a priest. JOHN LIDDAL, it is believed, was of Cumberland. Whilst travelling in Lancashire, in 1665, he was much abused on account of his religious profession. JOANE BROCKSOPPE, was the wife of Thomas Brocksoppe, of Little Normanton, in Derbyshire; she died in 1680. ANN COLEMAN, soon after her visit to New England, went on a visit to Bermuda, where, writes George Fox, "she died in the truth." Of JANE MILLARD, KATHERINE CHATTAM, and JOHN BURSTOW, we have no particulars further than what have been related in the previous pages. PETER PEARSON was of Greysouthen, in Cumberland; his death is recorded to have taken place in 1713. MARY MALLINS was of Bandon Bridge, in Ireland, and in 1656, she was imprisoned for preaching in the steeple house at that place. GEORGE PRESTON appears to have been a resident of York, where in 1659 he was much abused by the soldiery whilst attempting to enter a meeting of Friends, and in the following year he was committed to Ousebridge prison in that city for refusing to swear. His decease took place in 1666, and he was interred in Friends' burial-ground at York. JOSEPH NICHOLSON was of Cumberland. He professed with Friends as early as 1653, in which year George Fox, whilst on a visit to that county, was entertained at his house. From this period, to the time of his first visit to New England in 1659, no incidents of his religious course have been met with. -In 1660 he returned to England, but in 1663 he proceeded on a second gospel mission to America, which occupied him for several years. After his return from this visit, he removed to Settle, in Yorkshire, and as late as 1704 we find him a member of that meeting. No record of his death has been found; he must, however, at this period have been considerably advanced in years. JANE NICHOLSON, his wife, died at Settle, in 1712.

Having thus far noticed the travels and sufferings of Friends from Great Britain, we now proceed to relate some further hardships, which were endured by those who were residents in New England. Edward Wharton, after receiving the sentence of banishment at Boston, in 1661, returned quietly to his home at Salem, from whence he addressed the rulers at Boston, informing them of his continuance in the colony, and remonstrating with

them for their wickedness in attempting his exile.* In the following year he travelled on a gospel mission with George Preston, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, to Dover and the province of Maine, some particulars of which have been given in the early part of this chapter. From this locality Edward Wharton proceeded to Rhode Island. How long he remained within the limits of this colony does not appear, but on leaving it he went to the adjacent town of Taunton. No Friends resided in this place, and he took up his quarters at an inn. The puritan minister having heard of his arrival, and fearing lest his hearers should imbibe the "Quaker heresy," evinced no little anxiety for the departure of Edward Wharton, and a deacon was immediately sent to him to request it. "Friend," said Edward Wharton, "what hast thou to lay to my charge? Whose ox have I stolen? or whose ass have I taken away? or whom have I wronged? And as for my being in town, I purpose to stay here until I have accomplished my business wherefore I came." The message being unheeded, a constable was next sent, with the threat that unless it was attended to he should be whipped out of the colony, in conformity with their law. "As for thy law," replied Edward Wharton, "thou mayst execute it if thou wilt, but thou hadst best take heed what thou dost; for the king hath lately sent over to the rulers in New England a charge that they inflict no more sufferings upon such as I am."† When the constable came to Edward Wharton he was "engaged" with the people, but his answer having quieted the official, he was left to proceed without interruption.

Leaving Taunton, Edward Wharton felt a religious call to visit the settlers in the most northern parts of New England, whom some self-righteous professors regarded as "outcasts" from church and state. Having passed through several towns and "escaped the danger of being apprehended," he reached Saco in the district of Maine. The people received him kindly, and he proceeded on the coast as far north as Casco Bay. The "outcasts" of this region were not insensible to the touches of Divine love, and they heard the ministry of the exiled Friend "with gladness." There

* New England Judged, p. 342.

† Ibid, 395.

were "tender people" among them, who wept at parting when they understood that, at the risk of his life, Edward Wharton intended to return to Boston. Turning southward, he visited the settlers at Black Point, and on Cape Porpoise, and at Wells; from thence proceeding by way of the river Piscataway, Greenland, and Hampton, to his home at Salem.

In 1663 or soon after, he was engaged in gospel service with some English Friends in the vicinity of Newbury. In the Fifth Month he again visited Piscataway, and on hearing of the cruel treatment which some of his friends had received from the magistrates at Dover, he was "pressed in spirit" to go and remonstrate with them. His language to these authorities was that of warning; it was however not only unheeded but even resented. They immediately had him placed in the stocks, and issued a warrant to scourge him in the three towns of Dover, Hampton, and Newbury.

As usual, the sentence was executed with much severity; but under it, Edward Wharton was preserved in patience and resignation, and rejoiced "that he was counted worthy to suffer for righteousness sake." Soon after being thus forcibly brought to Salem, he was again subjected to the cruelties of the lash, for "testifying" against the barbarous usage which some Friends of that town had received. Early in 1664 he went to Rhode Island on secular business, and, whilst there, met with George Preston, and with Wenlock Christison his fellow-townsmen, who had just returned from a gospel visit to Virginia. These Friends believed it required of them to proceed to Boston, a service in which Edward Wharton felt it right to join. On reaching this place, they held a meeting with their brethren, "wherein," says G. Bishop, "their hearts were made glad by the living power and presence of God,—and their souls rejoiced in His salvation." The intolerant Rawson, on hearing of their arrival and of the meeting referred to, proceeded thither. At the time he entered, Edward Wharton was preaching, and many of the citizens, anxious to hear him, had collected about the house. Rawson was much disturbed on witnessing the assemblage, and was not sparing in his threats and epithets of anger to those who com-

posed it. With a view to suppress these meetings, he immediately issued the following order:—

“ TO THE CONSTABLE OF BOSTON.

“ You are hereby required, in his Majesty’s name, forthwith to repair to Edward Wanton’s house, where a stranger, and a Quaker, with several others there, the said stranger publicly amongst many, endeavouring to seduce his Majesty’s good subjects and people to his cursed opinions, by his preaching amongst them: you are to carry the said strangers before the honoured Governor, to be proceeded with as the law directs, and return the names of such as are their hearers.

“ EDWARD RAWSON, *Commissioner.*”

Dated at Boston, the 4th of May, 1664.

The “stranger” referred to in the warrant was Edward Wharton, who was soon apprehended and sentenced to the degrading severity of the lash, as a vagabond, through Boston and Lynn, and then to be taken to his home at Salem. The authorities of Boston were evidently very anxious to prevent Edward Wharton from visiting their city, and hoping to effect their object by a show of lenity, they told him that, “if he would promise the governor to come no more to the Quaker’s meeting at Boston,” they would forego the execution of the sentence and liberate him. But these persecuting zealots had mistaken the character of their prisoner; “Not for all the world,” was his unflinching reply; “I have a back to lend to the smiter, and I have felt your cruel whippings, and the Lord hath made me able to bear them, and as I abide in his fear, I need not fear what you shall be suffered to do unto me.” “But surely,” he continued, “The Lord will visit you for the blood of the innocent, and your day is coming, as it is coming upon many, who but as yesterday were higher in power than ever you were, or are likely to be, but now are made the lowest of many, and truly my soul laments for you.”* In pur-

* New England Judged, p. 438.

suance of the cruel order, on the day following he was whipped through Boston for nearly a mile, and passed on to Lynn. At this place, the constable, who knew that the prisoner was an inhabitant of Salem, and that the order was, therefore, an illegal one, refused to recognise it, and set him at liberty. At the conclusion of his punishment at Boston, his persecutors told him, that every time he entered their city, he should be subjected to a similar treatment. The threat, however, was unavailing; Edward Wharton with his wonted courage replied, "I think I shall be here again to-morrow;" an intimation which was realised. He knew that the rulers, in treating him as a vagabond, had acted illegally; and with Christian boldness he determined to assert his rights. His undaunted conduct proved more than a match for the intention of his persecutors; and when, on this occasion, he appeared openly before them, they hesitated to commit him. Observing this, Edward Wharton asked them, "How it could be that he should be a vagrant yesterday and not to-day." His Christian firmness had been blessed with success, and in peace he returned to his home at Salem. In the course of the following year he again visited Boston, where he met with several English Friends. An order for their arrest was quickly issued, and Edward Wharton, for the alleged offence of standing in the Court with his hat on, whilst Bellingham was at prayer, was sentenced to receive fifteen lashes, and to be imprisoned for one month.*

Among the sufferings of Friends of New England, the case of Eliakim and Lydia Wardel, of Hampton, deserves particular notice. On one occasion, Eliakim Wardel had a horse worth fourteen pounds taken from him, for merely receiving the banished Wenlock Christison into his house. He was also frequently fined for absenting himself from the Puritan worship; and to satisfy these unjust demands, nearly the whole of his property was carried off. The case of Lydia, his wife, was a very peculiar one. Having become convinced of the principles of Friends, and consequently ceasing to attend the Puritan worship, she was several times requested to attend the congr-

* New England Judged, p. 461.

gation, and give a reason for the change of her opinion and practice. She at last went, but under circumstances which were extraordinary and humiliating. She had been deeply impressed with the want of true religion among many of the high professors and rulers of New England, and with their unblushing violation of the plainest doctrines of Christ in the persecution of Friends; but more especially with the immodest and revolting manner in which females had been publicly stripped and scourged. Although stated to have been a "chaste and tender woman," and of "exemplary modesty," she believed it required of her to appear similarly unclothed* in the congregation at Newbury, as a token of the miserable state of their spiritual condition, and as a testimony against the frequent practice of publicly whipping females in the manner referred to. It was to be expected that the appearance of Lydia Wardel under such circumstances, would be resented by those for whom the sign was intended. She was immediately arrested, and hurried before the authorities of the neighbouring town of Ipswich, where she was barbarously scourged; her husband was also severely whipped for countenancing this apprehended act of duty on the part of his wife. The transaction appears to have taken place in the year 1665.†

About the same time, Deborah Wilson, who is described as "a young woman of a very modest and retired life, and sober conversation,"‡ under an impression of religious duty, went in a similar state through the streets of Salem, as a sign against the "cruelty and immodesty" of the authorities, "in stripping and whipping" females. The punishment to which Lydia Wardel had been exposed was soon inflicted on Deborah Wilson.

The sufferings of Friends of Hampton and Salem, for absenting themselves from the Puritan worship, were very severe about this time. John Hussey and his wife, of Hampton, were grievously plundered of their property for fines on this account.

* Vide "A New-England Fire-brand Quenched," by G. Fox and J. Burnyeat, p. 224.

† Besse's *Sufferings*, vol. ii. p. 235.

‡ New England Judged, p. 583.

John Small, of Salem, had his best yoke of oxen taken from him during the ploughing season, when he most required them. Samuel Shattock was fined five pounds. John Kitching had his horse taken from him under circumstances which were peculiarly aggravating. Philip Verrin, for expressing his abhorrence of the martyrdom of his friends at Boston, underwent a cruel scourging. Several other Friends in the colony of Massachusetts, also received great severity from the hands of its persecuting zealots.

Wenlock Christison, of Salem, before spoken of, was still a sufferer for the cause of truth about this period. On visiting Boston in the early part of 1664, he was apprehended, with some other Friends, and brought before the Court. Bellingham, who then presided, told him that he should be whipped under their law against vagabonds. After proving to the Court that he was not a vagabond, he said to them—"At this bar, time was, that sentence of death was passed upon me; yet, by the help of God, I continue unto this day, standing over the heads of you all, bearing a faithful witness for the truth of the living God. Some of your associates are gone, and the Lord hath laid their glory in the dust, and yours is a fading flower."* He was soon committed to prison, and on the following day was sentenced to be whipped with ten stripes in each of the towns of Boston, Roxbury, and Dedham, and then to be expelled from the colony. Conscious that they were violating the laws of the realm, he appealed against their decision; but his request was unheeded. "If thou hadst been hanged," said one of the magistrates, "it had been well." "You had not power," he rejoined, "to take away my life, but my blood is upon you, for you murdered me in your hearts." Pursuant to the order, he was whipped in the towns named, and with some others, driven into the wilderness of the interior; "but," writes a contemporary, "the Lord was with them, and the Angel of his presence saved them, who had none in Heaven beside God, nor in the earth in comparison of Him."†

It was now about ten years since Friends first landed in

* New England Judged, p. 458.

† Ibid, p. 459.

Massachusetts, and during nearly the whole of that period they had been exposed to a cruel and relentless persecution. The authors and abettors were urged on in their ungodly career by feelings of extreme sectarian bigotry, by the powerful influence of which sect after sect had been suppressed. Not only the Episcopalians, but Roger Williams and his party, as well as the Antinomians and the Baptists, had severally suffered themselves to be driven as exiles from the country. The anti-christian legislation of the ruling sect had triumphed over all opposition, and it was not until it joined issue with Quakerism, that it had to contend with principles more potent than its own. On the Society of Friends devolved the noble work of contending successfully against the exclusive principle of sectarian legislation in New England, and of ecclesiastical tyranny in North America. The struggle truly was a severe one—more severe doubtless than we in this day can rightly estimate. We may point to the memorial which is furnished by the scenes exhibited on Boston Common, and talk of the sufferings of William Brend and his companions ;—of the revolting barbarities practised towards unoffending females ;—of whippings, of banishments, and of ruinous distraints ; but the aggregate sufferings of Friends in New England, in their faithful and unflinching support of the truth, is known only to Him who seeth and knoweth all things. With ancient Israel, they could feelingly say, “If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, when men rose up against us, then had they swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us : then the waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul.—Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth.”

For this faithful stand no praise is due to man ; it belongs alone to Him, whose work we reverently believe it was ; and who, in the wise economy of his divine purposes, qualifies and strengthens his devoted servants for every emergency and every trial. Those of our early Friends who were foremost in this fearful conflict were, under the divine anointing, given clearly to see, that on the passing of the law for exiling on pain of death, nothing short of the sacrifice of some of their lives would be called for,

to break down the barrier which the self-righteous professors of New England, in their determination to enforce their own sectarian views on the community, had raised against the progress of true religion. William Robinson, before ever he entered Massachusetts, was impressed with this belief. "The word of the Lord," he says, "came expressly unto me and commanded me to pass to the town of Boston *my life to lay down.*" "To which heavenly voice," he continues, "I presently yielded obedience, not questioning the Lord, who filled me with living strength and power from his heavenly presence, which at that time did mightily overshadow me: and my life said Amen to what the Lord required of me."* The feeling under which William Robinson went to Boston, also pervaded the minds of his fellow-martyrs. When the reprieve came for Mary Dyer, just in time to save her life, she told the authorities, that "unless they would annul their wicked law, she was there willing to suffer as her brethren had." They were strengthened with might in the inner man, thus willingly to surrender their lives, and He who called them to the sacrifice also upheld their brethren under other suffering. Thus, Wenlock Christison and Edward Wharton, were enabled to display a degree of christian courage and firmness that was altogether extraordinary. Conscious of the truthfulness and righteousness of their cause, and upheld by the Spirit of their God, they wearied out injustice and cruelty. The religious constancy of Friends confounded and subdued the priests and rulers of Massachusetts, and not only led to the spread of those spiritual views which distinguished them from others of the christian name, but also materially assisted in the emancipation of North America from the miseries of priestly tyranny and oppression.

The relation of acts of intolerance and oppression exercised by one section of the christian name towards another, must ever be felt a humiliating task to the right-minded historian and could he consistently do so, he would gladly consign to merited oblivion, transactions so much at variance with true religion. But, when, in pursuance of his work, he has to detail instances of cruelty and

* New England Judged, p. 95.

injustice by a people so enlightened, and in many respects too, a people so much in advance of most of their day, as were the Puritans of New England, the task is rendered additionally painful. In recording the persecution of Friends in New England, we wish to impress on the mind of the reader, a circumstance which, in perusing the foregoing pages, has probably attracted his notice; that to the rulers and ecclesiastics, and not to the people at large, belongs the disgrace of these anti-christian proceedings. In support of this view it may be further remarked, that throughout the sufferings of Friends in New England, there is scarcely a single instance on record, in which the public evinced a spirit of persecution. Had this disposition been manifested by the people, and had the truths which Friends proclaimed been rejected by them with indignation and contempt, the ministers of Massachusetts would have nothing to fear from the presence of Quakers. But it was because in New England, as in Old England, many who were piously disposed, were willing to hearken to their gospel declarations, and because they laboured to turn the attention of the people from outward teachers, and a dependence upon man in the things of God, to Christ their inward teacher, and to the efficacy of his free grace, that the ecclesiastics of that day resorted to persecution to maintain their unholy dominion amongst men.

The ultimate prevalence of religious toleration in the western world, through the constancy and faithfulness of Friends, is a subject calculated to furnish much profitable reflection. Had they given way to fear, and shrunk from suffering, it is impossible to say to what extent religious freedom might have been checked in its emancipation from the trammels of ecclesiastical rule. The doctrines and practice of our early Friends were, however, such only as the New Testament recognizes; and these, it may be fearlessly asserted, when made the rule of our conduct, will ever lead us to condemn all interference with the inalienable rights of conscience.

CHAPTER XV.

Persecution of Friends in New England stayed—John Taylor visits the province—John Burnyeat's travels and services in New England. He attends the Yearly Meeting on Rhode Island in 1671—Some account of the establishment of Yearly Meetings—George Fox and twelve other ministers embark for America—Six of them are present at Rhode Island Yearly Meeting in 1671—George Fox's account of the Yearly Meeting—His services in that colony—The travels of Robert Widders, John Burnyeat, George Pattison, and John Cartwright, in New England—John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, and others, imprisoned at Boston—William Edmundson's visit to America—Disputation between Friends and Roger Williams—W. Edmundson's second visit to New England—William and Alice Curwen's travels and sufferings—Margaret Brewster visits Boston—A law passed at Boston prohibiting the erection of Meeting-houses—The travels of John Boweter, Joan Vokins and others.

IN commencing another chapter, it is with feelings of satisfaction that we are enabled to turn the attention of the reader, from scenes of persecution, to events connected with religion, under a civil and political condition of society more consistent with the laws of truth and righteousness.

The rigid professors of Massachusetts having, in the progress of their restrictive legislation, excluded Episcopalians, as well as Friends, from their territory, received from the throne four years after the restoration of Charles II., an emphatic injunction, "To permit such as desire it to use the Book of Common Prayer, without incurring any penalty, reproach, or disadvantage; it being very scandalous," continues the admonition, "that any person should be debarred the exercise of their religion, according to the laws and customs of England, by those who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profession or religion they pleased."* About a year after, a similar monition was addressed to the

* Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 219.

government of Connecticut that, "All persons of civil lives might freely enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the worship of God in that way which they think best."*

By these and other concurrent circumstances, religious persecution in New England received at length an effectual check, and henceforward there will be but few instances to record, wherein the liberties of the subject were outraged, or the rights of conscience invaded. Not but that heart-burnings existed for a time, but by degrees, the clouds that had long obscured the religious horizon of this province were gradually dispelled, and its thrifty and energetic population began to enjoy in mutual confidence and goodwill, the sunshine of religious freedom. An eloquent writer, referring to the causes by which the fury of sectarian bigotry was thus stayed, remarks, "Charles was restored—Endicott died, and when the sun seemed to be turning into darkness and the moon into blood, the wheels of the car of destiny appeared suddenly to roll backward, and a glimmer of humanity began to dawn."†

The first individual who appears to have visited Massachusetts under the new and more favourable state of things was John Taylor, who had travelled in New England about seven years previously. He arrived at Boston, on this occasion, in the Third Month, 1666. The vessel in which he came was bound for Barbadoes, but being short of provisions the captain put in at this port for fresh supplies. He stayed three weeks at Boston, and during that period, Ann Coleman and others also arrived there. From thence, John Taylor sailed to Rhode Island, where he remarks, "Friends received me very kindly." Here he remained for about six months, "having good service for the Lord, and in the country thereabouts."‡

The next gospel minister who is recorded to have visited New England, was John Burnyeat of Cumberland. He reached Rhode Island early in 1666; and, after "a comfortable service" among Friends of that island, he travelled to Sandwich in the adjacent colony of Plymouth. From thence he proceeded by way of

* Massachusetts Hist. Coll., 2nd Series, vol. viii. p. 76.

† Vide "The Churchman, vol. v. p. 857. May 2nd, 1835."

‡ Journal of J. Taylor, p. 29.

Duxbury, Marshfield, and Scituate, to Boston," visiting Friends and having meetings" as he went. After going to Salem, and northward as far as Piscataway, he returned to Plymouth and Sandwich, travelling through the woods, until he arrived at Ponigansit, from whence he crossed over to Rhode Island. Having spent "some time" in declaring the gospel message to the inhabitants of this favoured locality, he passed to Long Island. In the winter, however, he returned again to Rhode Island, where he was engaged until the First Month, 1667.

In the year 1669, we find that Joseph and Jane Nicholson were again labouring in New England in the cause of their Redeemer, and during that summer they appear to have visited Boston.*

The care of the churches in America, rested with much weight on the mind of John Burnyeat; and in 1670, he again visited that country. Proceeding by way of Barbadoes, he landed at New York, in the Second Month, 1671, and after some gospel service, he reached Rhode Island in the Fourth Month following, in time to attend the Yearly Meeting. There is good reason to believe, that the Yearly Meetings of Rhode Island had been regularly held from 1661, the year in which Bishop says, "it was set up."† No minutes of its proceedings prior to 1683, have, however, been preserved; the records for several years after its origin having been, it is supposed, destroyed by fire, by the burning of the dwelling-house where they were deposited.‡ "It begins," says John Burnyeat, "in the ninth of the Fourth Month every year; and continues for much of a week, and is a general meeting once a year for all Friends in New England.§ The first Yearly Meeting in Great Britain was in Yorkshire in the year 1658, where it was held successively for three years. "In 1661," says George Fox, "it was removed to London, where it hath been kept ever since."|| Excepting, therefore, that of London, New

* Letter of Jos. Nicholson, 1669, in Swarthmore MSS.

† New England Judged, p. 351.

‡ Vide "Brief Account of the Meetings of Friends in New England," p. 7.

§ Journal of John Burnyeat.

|| Letters of Early Friends, p. 313.

England Yearly Meeting is clearly the most ancient in the Society. The circumstance, that at this early period, it "continued for much of a week," shews that it was of considerable importance. It was not, indeed, a Yearly Meeting for New England only, but for "the other colonies adjacent,"* including doubtless Friends of the Half-year's Meeting of Long Island, those resident in the Jerseys, and probably as far south as Virginia and Maryland.

From Rhode Island John Burnyeat passed to Massachusetts, and held meetings at Sandwich, Duxbury, Marshfield, Scituate, and Boston, thence to Salem, Hampton, and as far north again as Piscataway, returning by the same route to Rhode Island. Speaking of this journey, he says, "I had many precious meetings, and the Lord was with us, and his power was over all." After visiting Friends at Providence, he sailed in the Seventh Month, 1671, to the colonies in the south, accompanied by Daniel Gould.

The year 1671 was another memorable period in the history of our religious Society in the western world. We have seen that, on several occasions, many of the gospel ministers who visited that land proceeded to it in companies; it was, however, during this year, that the largest number embarked from England at one time on religious service, in that direction,—a circumstance which is rendered additionally interesting from the fact that George Fox formed one of the party, consisting altogether of thirteen Friends. It was now about twenty-eight years since George Fox had entered upon the important work, to which he had been called by the Great Head of the Church. He had within that period travelled in almost every part of England and Wales, had also visited Scotland and Ireland; and notwithstanding the torrent of persecution which had assailed the new Society from the rulers and ecclesiastics of the land, he had seen it gradually enlarging until it had extended itself throughout the three kingdoms, in some parts of the European Continent, in the West India Islands, and in North America. The welfare of the religious community which he was the chief instrument in gathering, was peculiarly

* Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p. 160.

dear to him everywhere ; but in no part was it more so than in the western world. Almost as soon as companies of his fellow professors were collected in this hemisphere, he endeavoured by frequent epistolary communications to encourage them in the path they had chosen, and in the faith they had embraced.

Those who accompanied George Fox on this occasion were William Edmundson, John Stubbs, Thomas Briggs, John Rous, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Elizabeth Miers, who were all well known to him, and whose faithful labours in the gospel had clearly indicated their love for the truth, and their desires for the salvation of their fellow-men. They embarked at London in the Sixth Month, 1671, for Barbadoes. From this island George Fox and several of the company passed to Jamaica, and from thence to Maryland, where they met with John Burnyeat. From this part James Lancaster and John Cartwright went by sea to New England, whilst George Fox, John Burnyeat, Robert Widders, and George Pattison proceeded thither by land, and arrived at Rhode Island in the Third Month, 1672. They were gladly received by Friends, and all of them became the welcome guests of Nicholas Easton, the governor of the colony. On the First day, following their arrival, they had a large meeting, and the deputy governor and several justices who attended "were mightily affected with the truth."*

The usual time for holding the Yearly Meeting on Rhode Island was in the following week, and before that time James Lancaster and John Cartwright had arrived, and also John Stubbs, from Barbadoes. There were, therefore, at this Yearly Meeting, at least seven ministers from England, and it appears to have been a memorable occasion. Friends came to it "from most places in New England," and also from "the other colonies adjacent." The transactions were important, and are thus described by George Fox :—"This meeting lasted six days, the first four days were general public meetings for worship, to which abundance of other people came ; for they had no priest in the island, and so

* Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p. 166.

no restriction to any particular way of worship ; and both the governor and deputy governor, with several justices of the peace, daily frequented the meetings. This so encouraged the people that they flocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and truth had a good reception. I have rarely observed people, in the state wherein they stood, hear with more attention, diligence, and affection, than generally they did, during the four days together. After these public meetings were over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious, and weighty ; and the day following was the women's meeting, which also was large and very solemn. These two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the church, many weighty things were opened and communicated to them, by way of advice, information, and instruction in the services relating thereunto ; that all might be kept clean, sweet, and savoury amongst them. In these two meetings several men's and women's meetings for other parts were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the church ; and to see that all who profess truth walk according to the glorious gospel of God. When this great general meeting in Rhode Island was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part ; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and his blessed truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island ; and then, being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their habitations, in the several colonies where they lived."*

At the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting, George Fox and Robert Widders, remained " for some time " on Rhode Island, where, " through the great openness of the people," they had " many large and serviceable meetings."† Passing from this locality, accompanied by Nicholas Easton, the governor, they directed their course to Providence. Here they had a large and memorable meeting, which, in order to accommodate the people,

* Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p. 161.

† Ibid.

was held in a "great barn." "The glorious power of the Lord," observes George Fox, "shined over all."* They next proceeded to the Narragansett country, where a meeting was held at the house of a Justice; and notice having been previously circulated, the settlers from the surrounding country, and even from the adjacent colony of Connecticut, flocked together, and it "was very large." "Most of these," writes George Fox, "were such as had never heard Friends before, and they were mightily affected with the meeting."† From hence the Friends returned to Rhode Island,

The other European Friends were travelling, at the same time in gospel service, in Massachusetts. John Burnyeat, John Cartwright, and George Pattison, on leaving Rhode Island, took their course eastward to Sandwich, where, observes John Burnyeat, "we had a blessed meeting, and were comforted and richly refreshed. The blessed presence of the Lord's holy power was with us, and opened and enlarged our hearts."‡ They then proceeded northward, passing through Plymouth, Duxbury, Marshfield, and Scituate, to Boston. The meeting at this place is mentioned as a "blessed season," where "the truth was cleared of those scandals which the priests and others had cast upon it, and the people greatly satisfied."§ This meeting appears to have made a deep impression on the minds of many of the citizens of Boston; and the visit of the Friends, to the great annoyance of the priests, became the subject of general conversation. One of the ministers, displeased to hear his flock speak favourably of Friends and their preaching, on the following First-day, prostituted the sanctity of his office, and his pulpit, in exciting the magistracy against the strangers. His unholy efforts were successful; the authorities, urged on by the malicious declarations of their minister, causing several Friends to be arrested on the same day, while assembled for divine worship. A few days after, John Stubbs and James Lancaster arrived at Boston; they were, however, immediately seized, imprisoned,

* Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p. 162.

† Ibid.

‡ Journal of John Burnyeat.

§ Ibid.

and summarily banished the colony. John Raunce, Thomas Eaton, and Robert Hornden, who are spoken of as "strangers," were imprisoned on this occasion;* and about the same period Solomon Eccles, of London, and Nicholas Alexander, a justice of Jamaica, who came on a religious visit to New England, were also imprisoned and banished.† "Thus their old fruits," as John Burnyeat remarks, in reference to the priests and rulers, "were brought forth again."

From Boston, John Burnyeat and his two companions passed on to Salem and Hampton. The meeting held at the latter town was attended by many of the inhabitants, including some elders of the Puritan Church, who were very favourably impressed with what they heard on the occasion, and "gave a good report of the truth." The minister of Hampton, disturbed and "offended" at the favour which the people evinced towards Friends, assembled the heads of his church, with a view to induce them to pass a resolution "that no member, nor members' children, go to a Quakers' meeting." The illiberal feelings of the minister, however, were not responded to by his flock, and they declined to sanction his proposal. The travellers next visited Piscattaway, and had a meeting with the most influential Friends respecting the settlement of meetings for discipline for both men and women. "Friends," remarks John Burnyeat, "were very open, and all things were settled in sweet unity."

At Salem, some Friends had imbibed the notion of John Perrot, of not putting off the hat in time of prayer, under the delusive idea that it was a form to be testified against. This was cause of anxiety to John Burnyeat and his two fellow-travellers; and with a view to show the Friends of Salem the evil tendency of such opinions and practices, a meeting on the subject took place on their return. The occasion was blessed to the church of that place; some of them saw their error, and condemned the unseemly practice. "Blessed be the Lord,"

* New England Judged, p. 489.

† Journal of John Burnyeat.

writes John Burnyeat, "who shows mercy, and restores out of the snares of Satan."*

Having completed their religious engagements in Massachusetts, the three Friends returned to Rhode Island, where they met with George Fox and Robert Widders, who had just come from the Narragansett country. This was in the Sixth Month 1672, and after they had been engaged about two months in New England. From Rhode Island, George Fox, Robert Widders, James Lancaster, and George Pattison, passed to Shelter Island; whilst John Burnyeat and John Stubbs proceeded to Providence and Warwick, returning again to Rhode Island. On their return, they met John Cartwright, who had parted from them at Piscataway, to extend his journey northward into Maine.

It was at this period, that Roger Williams, of Providence, made his proposal for a public disputation with Friends. Williams, though one who had nobly advocated religious liberty, was yet strongly opposed to some of the doctrinal views of Friends; and being very confident of the rectitude of his own opinions, he sent a challenge to maintain fourteen propositions against Friends; seven of which were to be argued at Newport, and seven at Providence. At this juncture, William Edmundson, who had been travelling in the south, arrived at Rhode Island, and joined with his brethren in accepting the challenge in question. The circumstance was one that excited considerable interest among the settlers, and "a great concourse of people of all sorts" assembled to hear the disputation. The discussion of the seven propositions at Newport, says William Edmundson, occupied no less than three days. "They were all but slanders and accusations against Friends, and were turned back upon himself." The remaining seven propositions were discussed at Providence; and on the part of Friends, were opposed by William Edmundson and John Stubbs alone; John Burnyeat and John Cartwright having left for Narragansett and Connecticut. The disputation at Providence occupied a day; and, as at New-

* Journal of John Burnyeat.

port, there "was a very great gathering of the people." The remaining propositions were similar in character to the former ones; "but," observes William Edmundson, "we answered all his charges, and disproved them."* At the conclusion, he continues, "we had a seasonable opportunity to open many things to the people, appertaining to the kingdom of God, and way of eternal life and salvation. Prayer was made to Almighty God, and the people went away satisfied and loving."†

But a short time previous to this disputation, the government of Rhode Island had been placed, by the suffrages of the people, in the hands of Friends; the governor, deputy governor, and magistrates, having been all chosen from among them.‡ This was a circumstance not at all congenial to the mind of Roger Williams. He was the founder of the plantation of Providence, and after it had been incorporated under one charter with Rhode Island, for several years he had filled the office of governor, though opposed by William Coddington and those who were now the rulers of the colony. Twenty years before, there had, indeed, been a strong rivalry between Williams and Coddington for the post of governor: the latter, in 1651, obtained from the government at home, a commission, constituting him governor of Rhode Island for life. This appointment gave great discontent to Roger Williams and to the settlers in and about Providence, and he and another were sent to England for the purpose of obtaining a repeal of Coddington's commission. After much difficulty this was effected in 1652, and in 1654, after Williams had returned, he was elected governor.§ Roger Williams was also in religious profession a very decided Baptist; a body from among whom the Society of Friends in Rhode Island obtained many converts. This, doubtless, was another circumstance that disturbed his equanimity, and under the excitement it produced, together with the transfer of the civil power to Friends, he was led to make charges against them, which he was unable to sustain.

On leaving Providence, William Edmundson and John Stubbs,

* Journal of William Edmundson, 3d edit., p. 95.

† Ibid.

‡ Bancroft's United States.

§ The Early History of Rhode Island, by Romeo Elton, p. 268.

proceeded to Warwick, a few miles distant. The meeting held there was a very large one, being attended by most of those who had been present at the disputation at Providence. "The Lord's power and presence," observes William Edmundson, "were largely manifested, and the people were very loving—like Friends."* From this place John Stubbs went to Narragansett to join John Burnyeat, whilst William Edmundson took boat for Rhode Island. After some meetings with Friends on this Island, he travelled eastward to Sandwich and Scituate, and from thence to Boston; where, feeling that the service required of him in America was accomplished, he embarked in a ship bound for Ireland.

In the year 1675, William Edmundson, under the constraining influence of heavenly love, again left home on a gospel visit to his transatlantic brethren. He sailed from Cork in a vessel bound for Barbadoes, from whence, after labouring among his friends for about five months, he was taken to Rhode Island in a yacht belonging to a Friend. At this period New England was engaged in a disastrous war with the Indians, who, headed by their bold and ingenious king Philip, evinced their savage revenge for conceived wrongs in murderous onsets upon the settlers. The sudden inroads of these exasperated Algonquins made it exceedingly dangerous to travel; but William Edmundson, trusting in the unfailing succour of the Most High, pursued his gospel errand in faith. "I travelled," he writes, "as with my life in my hand, leaving all to the Lord, who rules in heaven and earth." After having some meetings on Rhode Island, he proceeded to Sandwich, "one Friend," he remarks, "having ventured to go with me, to guide me through the woods."† At Sandwich, "Friends were glad of his coming." "There was an honest tender people there, that loved the Lord and His truth." He had two meetings with them, and, he writes, "we were well refreshed in the Lord, and one in another."‡ From this town he travelled by way of Scituate, Boston, and Salem, as far north as Piscataway; holding meetings at these towns and in "several other places." His

* Journal of W. Edmundson, p. 96.

† Ibid, p. 104.

‡ Ibid, p. 105.

mode of travelling through this new country was on horseback ; on reaching Piscattaway, however, he left his horse and took boat for Dover. At this place, Nicholas Shapley, who had been convinced about fifteen years before, still resided. He continued to fill the office of a magistrate, and "was a man of note in that country."* At and near Dover there were many who had embraced the principles of Friends, and the meeting held there having been attended by settlers who "came from far to it," was not only "a precious one," but "a very large one" also. Before leaving this part, they had "a men's meeting about church affairs."

William Edmundson, on his return from Dover, hearing that some "tender people" resided at Reading, felt attracted in the love of the gospel towards them, and with some other Friends proceeded on a visit to the place. The settlers, to protect themselves against the incursions of the Indians, were living in a garrisoned house, and at the time when Friends arrived they were assembled for religious worship. William Edmundson, under an apprehension of duty, mentioned his desire to address the company. The request was readily acceded to, "And," he writes, "my heart being full of the word of life, I spoke of the mysteries of God's kingdom, in the demonstration of the spirit and power of the Lord ; so that their consciences were awakened, and the witness of God in them answered to the truth of the testimony : they were broken into tears, and when I was clear in declaration, I concluded the meeting with fervent prayer."† The settler at whose house the company were assembled, and who is described as "an ancient man," was deeply affected on the occasion. "We had heard," said he, "that Quakers denied the Scriptures, and denied Christ, who died for us : which was the cause of that great difference between their ministers and us : but he understood this day that we owned both Christ and the Scriptures ; therefore he would know the reason of the difference between their ministers and us ?" "Their ministers," replied William Edmundson, "were satisfied with the talk of Christ, and the Scriptures ; but we could not be satisfied without the sure, inward,

* Journal of W. Edmundson, p. 105.

† Ibid, p. 107.

divine knowledge of God and Christ, and the enjoyment of those comforts the Scriptures declared of, which true believers enjoyed in the primitive times."* The old man, affected to tears, replied, "that those were the things he wanted."

At Boston, and in the parts adjacent, William Edmundson had several meetings, and laboured to reclaim some, who, though professing with Friends, were lax in their practice, and brought dishonour on the truth.

From Massachusetts, he returned to Rhode Island, in a little vessel belonging to Edward Wharton. His presence there just at this period, was a source of much comfort to Friends; who, in consequence of the Indian war, were placed in circumstances of some difficulty. The government was in the hands of Friends, who had a testimony to bear against all wars and fightings, as opposed to the clear and unequivocal doctrines of Christ; consequently, they refused to join in the colonial compact of New England for a campaign against the natives. The forbearing conduct of the government was much opposed by the people at large, many of whom "were outrageous to fight."† Under these circumstances of trial, William Edmundson was enabled to strengthen his brethren; and was favoured to have "many blessed and heavenly meetings."

Leaving Rhode Island, this faithful minister proceeded westward, to the towns of New London and Hartford, in Connecticut. The rulers and ecclesiastics of this colony regarded Friends with great aversion, in consequence of which, when John Burnyeat visited it four years previously, he found it very difficult to hold meetings among the inhabitants. On the present occasion, however, the authorities were strongly disposed to evince their hatred to Quakerism in a more decided manner, and at a meeting which William Edmundson held at New London, "the constable and other officers came with armed men and forcibly broke it up." In this persecuting spirit the inhabitants generally did not participate, and when the "armed men" were "haling and abusing" Friends, "the sober people were much offended."‡ At Hartford,

* Journal of William Edmundson, p. 107.

† Ibid, p. 108.

‡ Ibid, p. 112.

he felt it required of him to attend the places of public worship. In the first that he entered, the congregation listened quietly to his ministry, and offered no molestation. In the afternoon of the same day he attended another, where for a considerable time he was enabled "to declare the way of salvation." The doctrine preached offended the priest of this congregation, and, at his persuasion, the officers "haled him out," and took him off to the guard-house. His detention, however, was but short, and he soon proceeded to Long Island. The religious labours of William Edmundson, at Hartford, excited much enquiry among the people respecting divine things, and he was afterwards told that he "had set all the town a talking of religion."

The spirit of oppression, which in former years had been so notoriously displayed at Boston, although in great measure kept down by the Government at home, occasionally gave very decided manifestations that it was not wholly extinguished. The regular holding of a Friends' meeting there, and the visits of ministers from Britain, caused much uneasiness to the bigoted rulers of Boston, who, again outstepping the bounds of their authority, in 1675, passed a law that every person found at a Quakers' meeting should be apprehended, *ex-officio*, by the constable, by a warrant from a magistrate be committed to prison, "have the discipline of the house applied, and be kept to work on bread and water for three days;" or otherwise should pay a fine of five pounds. It also included a provision that their old law "against the importation of Quakers," should be more rigidly enforced; and that the penalty, which originally was £100, should in no case be mitigated to a sum less than £20.*

The first individuals, at least from Britain, against whom this law was enforced, were William and Alice Curwen, of Lancashire. Alice Curwen had for some years been under the apprehension that it would be required of her to go on a gospel mission to America, and that it would be laid upon her husband to accompany her, when he should be released from an imprisonment for tithes. They accordingly left England for Rhode Island in

* "Cain against Abel," by George Fox, p. 41.

1676, from whence they travelled to Boston, and northward as far as Dover. "The power of the Lord," they remark, "was with us, and was our support, for which we cannot but bless his name."* The law against Friends' meetings, although passed in the previous year, had not yet been proclaimed. Probably its bigoted promoters were half ashamed that this proof of their persecuting disposition should be publicly announced to their fellow-citizens. But the visit of the Curwens seems to have given a fresh impulse to the intolerant feelings of the rulers; and whilst they were absent on their journey to Dover, the restrictive law was proclaimed. In returning from the north, they again visited Boston, and while assembled with their brethren for divine worship, were seized by the constabulary and taken to prison. This outbreak of violence gave rise to no little commotion in the city; and in the excitement which prevailed, numbers flocked to the prison. "Many people," remarks Alice Curwen, "both rich and poor, came to look upon us." "The circumstance was overruled to the promotion of the truth, and afforded the prisoners a favourable opportunity for declaring the things of God to the people. "The Lord was with us," she says, "our service was great, and some were convinced."† The authorities, vexed at witnessing results so opposite to their wishes, determined to revive the old practice of whipping; and on the third day the two Friends were publicly subjected to this degrading punishment; "but," remark the sufferers, "the presence of the Lord was manifested there also, which gave us dominion over all their cruelty, and we could not but magnify the name of the Lord, and declare his wonderful works." On the following day they were released, but, undismayed by the cruelty that had been inflicted upon them, these faithful Friends again assembled with their brethren, and after a good meeting, left them and proceeded to visit other meetings on their way to Rhode Island, from whence they sailed to the colonies in the south.

In 1677, a circumstance which caused considerable excitement took place at Boston. Margaret Brewster, a Friend of Barbadoes,

••••• Relation of the Labours, &c., of Alice Curwen, p. 5. † Ibid.

whilst on a gospel mission in New England, having a foresight given her of the afflictive visitation called the "black pox," believed it was required of her to enter one of the public places of worship in Boston, clothed in sackcloth and ashes, with her face blackened, as a prophetic warning of the event; the realization of which quickly followed. This unusual manifestation greatly offended the authorities, and she was immediately apprehended, together with four others who accompanied her. On her examination she told the court, that for three years this service had been required of her by her divine Master, and that it was not until she had been visited with sickness which brought her near the gates of death, that she "could give up to bear a living testimony for the God of her life, and to go as a sign among them;" and that "if they were suffered to take away her life, she was contented."* Whatever might be the opinion of the Puritans of Massachusetts respecting prophetic manifestations, the rulers of Boston were not prepared to recognize the service of Margaret Brewster as of divine origin. For this act of dedication, she was sentenced "to be stripped to the waist," and to receive twenty lashes.

The case of Margaret Brewster appears to have served as a pretext to the rulers of Boston for a revival of acts of cruelty; and in forgetfulness of the claims of either justice or humanity, within a few days after she had been scourged, no less than twenty-two of her fellow-professors were subjected to the same punishment, simply for attending their own meetings for the worship of the most High.† This sudden fit of persecution, so far from promoting the object of its authors, tended greatly to augment the excitement that prevailed; and when Friends on the following day assembled at their meeting, so many of the citizens attended, as to cause no inconsiderable degree of alarm to the bigoted ecclesiastics and rulers of the city. The news of this fresh outbreak of violence having reached London, William Penn, William Mead, and some other Friends, had interviews with the authorities

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 262.

† Letter of W. Coddington in Besse, vol. ii. p. 261.

respecting it.* The voice of public disapprobation in the colony, was also raised against these proceedings, and from that period, the rulers of New England never resorted to the lash in their endeavours to stem the progress of Quakerism.

For the first ten or fifteen years of the Society's existence in New England, its meetings had been mostly held in the dwellings of its members, but as their numbers increased, meeting houses were built for their better accommodation, and we find that Friends of Scituate erected one as early as 1672. The mere profession of a religious belief differing from that held by the prevailing sect of Massachusetts, had been sufficient in former years to draw down the resentment of the civil power, and the holding of religious meetings of the same character met with their uncompromising opposition ; it was not, therefore, to be expected that the rulers, when they began to see other edifices than their own provided for the purposes of divine worship, should remain quiet spectators of the innovation. Notwithstanding the progress of dissent, they had fondly hoped, that at least the only buildings in Massachusetts set apart for the worship of the most High, would be those indicated by their favourite spires ; and they were not willing to see this hope extinguished without a decided struggle. In 1679, therefore, the general Court at Boston, with a view to meet the apprehended evil, passed a law to prevent the erection of meeting-houses without leave of the "freemen of the town" and of the county court ; and in the event of any transgression of the law, such houses were to be forfeited "to the use of the country." The evil thus proscribed, is set forth in the preamble as "attempts made by some persons, to erect meeting-houses on pretence of the public worship of God on the Lord's day, thereby laying a foundation (if not for schisms and sedition, for error and heresy) for perpetuating divisions, and weakening such places where they dwell, in the comfortable support of the ministry orderly settled amongst them." The restrictive enactment, however, was never enforced, but this must be ascribed to the intimations of displeasure from Whitehall, rather than to any change of sentiment on the part of the colonial authorities.

* Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, vol. i.

During 1678, and a few years subsequently, several Friends from Europe visited New England. Of these are mentioned John Boweter, John Haydock, Benjamin Brown, John Hayton and Joan Vokins from England, and Jacob Tilmor from Ireland. We have no particulars of the services of these Friends, excepting John Boweter and Joan Vokins. The former was of Worcestershire, and his visit took place in 1678; his travels extending from Rhode Island eastward to Scituate, and northward as far as Salem. Joan Vokins was of Reading in Berkshire. She arrived at Rhode Island in 1680 in time to attend the Yearly Meeting, which, she remarks, lasted four days. She had "good service" amongst her friends, and during their important deliberations, she writes that "God's eternal, heart-tendering power, was over all."* Accompanied by Mary Wright of Oyster Bay, she next proceeded on a visit to Boston, where she held several meetings without any interference from the magistracy. On these occasions the baptising power of the Lord appears to have been strikingly manifested, and the hearts of the people were much tendered under her ministry. She says, "There were hardly any that I saw but shed tears."† This dedicated servant of Christ was one who had a very low estimate of her qualifications as a gospel minister, describing herself to be "the poorest and most helpless that ever I did see concerned in such a service: but it was the more to the honour of the power of my God, that so wonderfully wrought in my poor, weak, and helpless vessel. Honoured and renowned be it for ever, saith my soul; for its manifestation made the hearts of the people glad."‡

* Vokins' *God's Mighty Power Magnified*, p. 35.

† *Ibid*, p. 36.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 36.

CHAPTER XVI.

The progress of Friends in New England—Their increase on Rhode Island, and influence with the local authorities—Friends are elected as the rulers of the colony of Rhode Island—Their adoption of the principles of peace in its government—The sentiments of the Society of Friends on war—Peace a distinguishing feature of the religion of Christ—This principle recognized during the first three centuries of the Christian era—The circumstances under which it was abandoned by professing Christendom—The principle maintained by the Cathari of Germany, Wickliffe, Erasmus, and by the Society of Friends.

FROM the time when Mary Fisher and Ann Austin first landed in New England to the concluding date of the foregoing chapter, rather more than a quarter of a century had passed away; and during the whole of that period the principles of the Society of Friends had been gradually gaining ground in the country. Of their numbers it is difficult to speak with any degree of exactness; five Monthly Meetings, however, appear to have been established, and there were regularly settled meetings for worship, extending over the country from Rhode Island to Maine. The population of the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts and Maine about 1682 did not number 40,000, and that of Rhode Island was under 6,000. The progress of the Society was steady in the eastern and northern parts of New England, but in Rhode Island it more especially flourished. Very soon after Friends visited that district, the most influential of its inhabitants embraced their doctrines, among whom may be mentioned William Codrington, Nicholas Easton, and Henry Bull, each of whom filled the office of Governor. The increase of Friends in this colony by convincements was rapid; as early as 1666 they were sufficiently numerous and influential to cause the General Assembly to refuse the proposition of the royal commissioners for enforcing the oath of allegiance, and in the following year an engagement

of even milder form was repealed to satisfy the conscientious scruples of members of the Society.

The government of Rhode Island about 1667, though considerably influenced by Friends, was not under their absolute control. In 1672, however, the governor, deputy governor, and magistrates were all chosen from among them, and the affairs of the colony came under their entire management. This circumstance was an extraordinary one, and formed not only a new era in the history of the enlightened inhabitants of that territory, but a new era also in the history of this religious Society, and indeed, it may be said, in the history of the Christian world. The principles of the Society of Friends not only struck at the foundation of all hierarchical systems, and the intervention of a human priesthood between man and his Maker in the things of eternal life, but tended also to exemplify the excellency of the primitive doctrines of Christianity in their application to the civil affairs of mankind. Since the commencement of the Christian era, nearly seventeen centuries had elapsed, but that peculiar characteristic of the Gospel which is opposed to war, had not been reduced to practice in the government of any state; the non-resisting principles of Friends, however, led to its adoption in the colony of Rhode Island through their being chosen as its rulers.

It is not intended in this history to enlarge on those religious views which distinguish Friends from others of the Christian name, but so incalculably does the subject of war affect the present and eternal well-being of man, and to such an extent has this evil been sanctioned by the professors of Christianity, producing an amount of misery and ruin which it is frightful to contemplate, that we are inclined to offer some observations on a matter which thus so largely involves the happiness of our species.

From its rise, the Society of Friends has always borne a decided testimony against war, as being altogether incompatible with the glorious dispensation of the Gospel, displayed in the conduct and precepts of Christ, and of his Apostles and immediate followers. They believe that the religion of Jesus was to be distinguished pre-eminently by the law of love and peace, and that as mankind come under His government, they will, in unison with the lan-

guage of prophecy, "beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks ; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."*

Wars and fightings are emphatically the bitterest fruits of our fallen nature. They have their origin in the degenerate and unrenewed nature of man. "Come they not hence," says an Apostle, "even of your lusts which war in your members."† But Christ came to destroy the works of the devil, and to bring in everlasting righteousness ; He was to be the remedy for the spiritual disease which, through the disobedience of our first parents, had found entrance into the world ; and by and through Him, mankind were to be brought into that renewed condition, in which those corrupt passions from whence wars have their rise should be subdued.

In the inscrutable wisdom of the Most High, wars, under the Mosaic dispensation were, in some special cases commanded, but this gives no sanction to wars under the Gospel. Christianity also forbids many things which, in condescension to the weakness of man, were in that age of the world allowed to the Israelites. It was so regarding oaths and the law of marriage. The Law, however, for "the weakness and unprofitableness thereof," gave place to the more spiritual dispensation of Christ, and the law of retaliation and revenge was annulled. "Ye have heard," said our Lord, in reference to the law of Moses, "that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven."‡ The Apostle Paul, in addressing the converts at Rome, surrounded as they were with trophies of military glory, was anxious that they should be guarded against these pernicious influences, and be fully impressed with the non-resisting religion of Jesus. "Avenge not yourselves ; if thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink. Recompense no man evil for evil—overcome evil

* Isaiah ii. 4, 5.

† James iv. 1, 2.

‡ Matthew v. 38—45.

with good.”* This was the language of the great Apostle of the Gentile world. “They who defend war,” says Erasmus, “must defend the dispositions which lead to war.” But here we see that such are entirely forbidden.

The character of Him who was our great pattern was entirely opposed to war. He was pre-eminently distinguished by a meek, non-resisting, and forgiving spirit. “Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,” was his own language ; and that of the Apostle Paul to the primitive believers was, “Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.”† His holy religion was designed for the renovation of man ; and as its benign influence prevails, warfare and bloodshed must certainly cease. There is scarcely a divine truth that is more clearly set forth in the Holy Scriptures than this. The prophet Isaiah, in describing the glorious results of the gospel of Christ, thus speaks, in reference to its peaceable character—“The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid : and the calf and the young lion, and the fatling together : and a little child shall lead them, &c.”‡ When we turn from this delightful picture of the reign of Messiah in the hearts of the children of men, to the wars which have afflicted mankind ; the awful destruction of human life, and the devastation and ruin which have followed in their train ; when we compare the harmony and love which should ever characterise the followers of Christ, with the scenes which contending armies present in their mutual fiend-like struggles, how are we led with the Apostle to exclaim, “What communion hath light with darkness ? and what concord hath Christ with Belial ?”§

That the views which the Society of Friends take concerning war harmonize with divine truth, is abundantly confirmed by the practice of the early Christians. Both in the time of the Apostles, and for about two centuries after the Christian era, the primitive believers bore a decided testimony to the peaceable nature of the kingdom of their Redeemer. Those of them who lived in the time of our Lord and his immediate followers—a time, it should

* Romans xii. 19, 20.

† Phil. ii. 5.

‡ Isaiah xi. 6.

§ 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.

be remembered, when the rulers of the world were Pagans, whose religion fostered that spirit which seeks distinction and honour in military conquests—could not well fail to understand this doctrine aright ; and with the unquestionable evidence before us that they condemned war, it is surprising that there should be found among Christians of the present day, those who plead for its consistency with the principles of their holy religion. But however unfaithful its professors may be, Christianity is unchangeable, for its Founder is “ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.” Ages of error can give no prescriptive sanction for a departure from so distinguishing a feature of the religion of Jesus ; and the widespread defection in Christendom on this subject, affords no plea to the awakened soul, for the guilt of upholding this violation of the divine law.

It is not within the scope of this history to give a treatise on the melancholy declension of professing Christians in regard to war ; but as the conduct of the Society of Friends, in their faithful adherence to the principles of peace, bears a striking analogy to that of the primitive believers ; and as it is important to understand under what circumstances this genuine doctrine of the gospel was abandoned by Christians, we may not inappropriately follow the subject a little further.

Notwithstanding the opposition which Christianity had to encounter from both Jew and Pagan, its progress among mankind was rapid ; and at the time when, about forty years after the crucifixion, the Roman legions encamped before the walls of Jerusalem for the purposes of siege, there were thousands in that city who had embraced its faith. The calamities of that memorable siege, it is well known, exceed anything before recorded in history ; but these followers of the Prince of Peace, having no part or lot in these carnal struggles, under a divine intimation, left the land of Judea and resorted to a village lying beyond Jordan. Here, under the unfailing protection of the Almighty arm, they dwelt in perfect safety ; and amidst all the carnage which attended the destruction of Jerusalem, it does not appear that a single Christian perished.*

* Eusebius Ecc. Hist., Bk. iii. c. 5.

In the second century the maintenance of the peace principles among christians, is spoken of by several of the fathers of that period. Justin Martyr, about A.D. 140, in alluding to the prophecy of Isaiah, which declared that the swords should be turned into ploughshares, and the spears into pruning-hooks, remarks that it was fulfilled in his time, for "we who were once slayers of one another do not now fight against our enemies."* Ireneus, thirty years later, in speaking of the same prophecy, makes a similar observation. "The Christians," he says, "have changed their swords and their lances into instruments of peace, and they know not how to fight."† Tatian who was a disciple of Justin Martyr, in his oration to the Greeks, declares war as unlawful, and Clemens of Alexandria, his contemporary, uses expressions which affirm the same doctrine; he calls Christians "followers of peace," and says that they "used none of the implements of war."‡

There cannot be more conclusive evidence adduced of the practice of Christians in the second century in this respect, than from the attacks of Celsus, their bitter opponent. One of his charges against them was, "that they refused in his times to bear arms for the Emperor, even in case of necessity." "If," he added, "the rest of the Empire were of their opinion, it would soon be overrun by the barbarians."§ The testimony of Origen, a talented and learned writer, is also important on this subject. He was born A.D. 183, and became a pupil of Clemens of Alexandria. Nearly the whole of a long life was spent by him in writing, teaching, and expounding the scriptures; and Jerome calls him "the greatest teacher since the apostles." He wrote largely for the promotion of true religion, and replied to the attacks of Celsus. On the subject of war, however, we find Origen freely admitting the facts advanced by Celsus, but vindicating the conduct of his brethren, on the principle that wars were forbidden.

Tertullian, whose father was a centurion at Carthage, was a contemporary with Origen, and became a convert to Christianity. Before he renounced heathenism he was a distinguished rhetorician or advocate. He also wrote much in support of his religion,

* Clarkson's Essay on the Practice, &c., of the Early Christians on War, p. 7. † Ibid, p. 6. ‡ Ibid, p. 6. § Ibid, p. 7.

repeatedly making the avowal that any participation in war was unlawful for a Christian, because Christ "had forbidden the use of the sword and the revenge of injuries." He also informs us that "many soldiers, who had been converted to Christianity, quitted military pursuits in consequence of their conversion."*

Towards the close of the third century, under the reign of Dioclesian, a large number of Christians refused to serve in the army, and many of them suffered martyrdom for their faithful adherence to this doctrine of Christ. Maximilian was one of these. Having been brought before the tribunal to be enrolled as a soldier, he boldly declared his opinions. "I cannot fight," said he, "for any earthly consideration. I am now a Christian."† Lactantius, one of the most learned and eloquent of the Latin Fathers, and who wrote about this period, makes the explicit declaration that "to engage in war cannot be lawful for the righteous man, whose warfare is that of righteousness itself."‡

In the purest age of the Church, and for at least two centuries from the dawn of Christianity, so universally was war held to be unlawful by its professors, that there does not appear to have been a single writer among them during this period, who notices the subject, except with this view. "It is as easy," remarks a learned writer, "to obscure the sun at mid-day, as to deny that the primitive Christians renounced all revenge and war."§ In the third century some declensions were apparent, and among them that of some entering the army. In the fourth century, under the Emperor Constantine, this defection from primitive principle and practice made woeful progress. Constantine was a convert from paganism; but not so entirely a convert as to adopt the peace principle and disband his legions. The countenance thus given to war by the first Christian Emperor, had the effect of inducing a large number of Christians to enter the army; and on the other hand many of the heathen, finding that the profession of Christianity did not subject them to a renunciation of arms, out of compliment to the Emperor imitated his example, and embraced the new religion.||

* Gurney on War.

† Clarkson's Essay, p. 12.

‡ Gurney on War.

§ Barclay's Apology, prop. xv.

|| Vide Moshier's Ecc. Hist., vol. i. p. 304; also Clarkson's Essay, p. 20.

The Most High, as though to fix a mark of reprobation for the violation of his gospel, appears to have hid his face in anger ; for his erring children, being left to their own unaided capacities in the things of God, departed widely from his law. It is a remarkable fact that during the century in which Christians relaxed their principles respecting peace, most of the evils in the Church were introduced, and by a strange infusion of heathen practices, christianity became gradually metamorphosed into what is now understood by Romanism. Ceremonies were greatly multiplied ; Pagan rites were imitated ; and a desire for pompous display in religion, manifested itself to an enormous extent. Transubstantiation, or something analogous to it, was maintained ; the ceremony of the elevation used in the celebration of the eucharist was introduced ; pilgrimages were performed ; their places of worship were held to be sacred ; saints were invoked ; relics were adored ; images used and the cross worshipped ; monasteries were founded ; magnificent public processions in imitation of those which the Pagans used to appease their gods, frequently took place ; and the clerical orders were augmented by archbishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries.

The religion of the Greeks and Romans differed, indeed, very little in externals, from that now adopted by Christians. Both were distinguished by a most imposing and splendid ritual. In the churches of both were to be seen pictures, images, gold and silver vases, wax tapers, gorgeous robes, mitres, tiaras, crosiers, &c. In imitation of the temples of the heathen deities, magnificent buildings were erected, which bore also a resemblance to them, in their outward form as well as their inward decorations. As among the Pagans, so also among the Christians, priestly power and influence had gained a dominion over the minds of the people ; fraud and artifice were resorted to in the most unblushing manner to impose on their credulity.

These declensions sprang up under the auspices of the half-converted and warlike Constantine and his immediate successors ; and were among the means employed in their day, to allure the Pagan nations to embrace Christianity ; and these truly, as an eminent ecclesiastical historian has observed, " All contributed to

establish the reign of superstition upon the ruins of Christianity."*

That amidst all these corruptions, among a people who had been conspicuous for their love of arms; and obscured as genuine Christianity was by so much of Paganism, the distinguishing feature of the religion of Him who was emphatically called "the Prince of Peace," which proclaims against all wars and fightings, should be no longer recognised, can excite no surprise; neither are we unprepared, amidst these desecrations, to hear that armies were employed to promote ecclesiastical rule, and that uncivilized nations were forced into the profession of Christianity under the terror of the sword. The most important doctrines of Christ being discarded, we now see the Church torn with strife and divisions; and the secular arm for a long period was resorted to in support of the views of the contending parties, in a manner which not only disgraces religion but outrages humanity itself.†

Although professing Christendom from the time when it first sanctioned the use of the sword, down to the present hour, has more or less given sad proof of its defection, yet God has not been without his witnesses for this precious principle of the gospel. Towards the close of the fourth century, there were those who suffered for faithfully objecting to all war. The church itself, indeed, even in its declension, did not at once forget the practice of its brighter day, and there was yet a lingering reverence for the doctrine of peace. At the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, under Constantine, a penalty of excommunication for a lengthened period was imposed on those who, after having renounced a military life, should again return to the army. Two hundred years later, Pope Leo declared it to be "contrary to the rules of the church, that persons after the action of penance should revert to the warfare of the world."‡ It may also be noticed, as a remarkable fact, that the Goths who, in the third century, had been converted to Christianity, in the next, whilst having the

* Moshem's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 327. Ed. 1826.

† In the Arian controversy, eighty ecclesiastics, who were opposed to its views, were placed in a ship, which was set on fire when it had cleared the coast.—Vide Moshem's Ecc. Hist. ‡ Gurney on War.

bible translated into their language, proposed the rejection of the books of Kings and Chronicles, lest the recital of the wars between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, should awaken those feelings of military ardour which had been subdued under the benign influence of the gospel.* In the tenth century the Paterines, a numerous sect, scattered throughout Italy and France, maintained the non-resisting principle,† in which, during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, they were joined by the Cathari, or Puritans, of Germany, who held that it was not lawful to bear arms or to kill mankind. In the fourteenth century, Wickliffe, the first English reformer, proclaimed the same views. In the fifteenth century, the United Brethren of Bohemia,‡ and during the Reformation the great Erasmus, also bore an uncompromising testimony against all war; in the century following, this doctrine was more conspicuously revived by the Society of Friends.

Recognizing the principle of peace as the genuine fruit of the everlasting gospel, it will be interesting to mark the conduct of the Society under their new circumstances in the government of Rhode Island. From the foundation of the colony to the time when it came under the government of Friends, was comprehended a period of about thirty-four years, during which the settlers had been involved in conflicts with the Indians; "garrisoned houses were appointed;" "armed boats were fitted out;"§ troops were raised; and lives were lost, in their war with the aborigines. In 1652, during the hostilities between the English and Dutch, the "colony and island were put to considerable expense to put and keep themselves in a posture of defence." We see, then, that in Rhode Island, in common with other governments of the time, warlike preparations had been resorted to, and the aid of the sword was sought in deciding disputes.

Within a few years after Friends became the rulers of Rhode Island, no circumstance arose to test the practical application of their non-resisting principle, and no active measures appear to

* Hoyland's *Epitome of the History of the World*, p. 367, and compare Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 304.

† Jones's *Hist. of the Waldenses*, vol. i. p. 427.

‡ Crantz's *Hist.*, vol. i. p. 200. § Callender's *Hist. Discourse*, p. 125.

have been taken by them in which this doctrine was involved, except in the passing of an act which provided for the entire right of those colonists who had a conscientious scruple against war, to refuse a participation in military operations without being liable to any penalty for such refusal ; this exemption was, nevertheless, clearly defined not to extend to services of a purely civil character. Respecting the latter, the law in question was as follows : “ Provided, nevertheless, that such said persons who cannot fight nor destroy men, it being against their conscience, and not against their conscience to do and perform civil services to the colony, though not martial services, and to preserve, so far as in them lies, lives, goods, and cattle, &c., that when any enemy shall approach or assault the colony, or any place thereof, that then it shall be lawful for the civil officer for the time being, as civil officer, and not as martial or military, to require such said persons as are of sufficient able body and of strength, though exempt from training and fighting, to conduct, or to convey out of the danger of the enemy weak, aged, and impotent persons, women and children, goods and cattle, by which the common weal may be better maintained, and works of mercy manifested to distressed, weak persons ; and shall be required to watch to inform of danger (but without arms in martial manner or matter), and to perform any other civil service by order of the civil officers, for the good of the colony and inhabitants thereof.”*

In 1675, the peace principles of the government of Rhode Island were severely tested, in consequence of a formidable confederacy among the Indian tribes, to exterminate the settlers in New England by falling upon them “everywhere at once.” With a view to provide against this fearful combination, it was proposed for the several colonies of New England to unite in military preparations. To this proposal, however, the government of Rhode Island could not conscientiously accede, and in dependence on the protecting care of Him who hath the hearts of all men at his disposal, they refrained from engaging in the war. This was a course which involved Friends in considerable trial, for although the governors, and most of the inhabitants of the island were dis-

* Colonial Records, 1673. At an extra session held in consequence of an apprehended attack from the Dutch whilst at war with the English.

posed to peace, yet in that part of the colony which lay on "the main," the majority of the settlers held different views, being "outrageous to fight," and loud in their declamations against the rulers for refusing to give, as was said by a Friend, "commissions to kill and destroy men."* The government at home were apprized, in the language of complaint, of this novel policy. It was said that "the colony would never yield any joint assistance against the common enemy, no, not so much as in their own towns;" and that they refused "to garrison" the towns of Providence and Warwick, which lay much exposed to incursions from the revengeful natives. The war was carried on by the Indians with great determination, and though it resulted in their defeat, its cost was terrible to the colonists. Twelve towns were destroyed, six hundred men fell in the conflict, and no less than six hundred houses were burnt. Of the able-bodied men in the province of New England, one in twenty had perished, and one family in every twenty had been burnt out; altogether, the cost of this Indian war amounted to half a million sterling. Amidst the dreadful scenes which characterised this conflict, and whilst so many towns on the main were either wholly or partially destroyed, it is remarkable that the habitations of the peace-loving settlers on Rhode Island itself remained safe, and not a settler thereon received personal injury.

It has been remarked by some that Friends did not wholly abstain from taking means to protect their territory from the ravages of the Indians, and that boats were employed to ply around the island and keep them off. No account, however, appears, of any attempt on the part of the natives to land, or at least to do so in any forcible or aggressive manner. It is very easy to imagine that precautions might be taken for the protection of life and property under such circumstances, without violating in the slightest degree the doctrine which holds in abhorrence the slaying of our fellow-creatures; precautions, indeed, which, if omitted, would imply culpable neglect. The settlers on the island entertained the opinion that the Indians had in many respects been wronged by the whites, and of this opinion the

* Journal of W. Edmundson, p. 108.

Indians doubtless were not ignorant.* Friends, also, had evinced considerable interest in the welfare of the natives. In the year following the election of some of their body to the government of the colony, a Committee of the Assembly was appointed to "treat with the Indian Sachems, to prevent drunkenness among them."† Important civil rights were also granted to them under the administration of Friends; natives were allowed to serve on juries in cases affecting themselves, and their testimony was received in the courts as evidence.‡ The Indians, also, were unquestionably aware that the governors of Rhode Island were guided by principles of peace, and were not parties in the combination against them. They had, therefore, no incitement to kill and ravage the country of those who befriended them, and we find that they acted accordingly.

The rise and progress of the Society in New England down to about the year 1682 has now been related, and every year of its history to this period evinces that its planting was of the Lord. The early Friends of this province were deeply sensible of this, and their hearts were often lifted up in praise for this manifestation of divine goodness. "Blessed," they said, "were the feet of them that were sent to visit us, and brought the glad tidings of peace and the message of salvation." The Lord did indeed largely bless this portion of his visible church with the energy of his life-giving presence and power, and caused it to increase and flourish, and to rejoice in Him as the Rock of their salvation. "God is good to his spiritual Israel," they wrote; "many are grown and growing to that state to tell others what he hath done for their souls, and are instruments to draw and persuade many to taste and see how good He is." "We enjoy our meetings peaceably," was their language on another occasion, "and the Lord's presence and powerful word of life doth often fill our assemblies. Glory to His name for ever, who feeds his faithful ones with the finest of the wheat, and gives them honey out of the rock."

* Collection of Rhode Island Hist. Society, vol. iii. p. 93

† Ibid, p. 80.

‡ Ibid, p. 80.

NIEUW AMSTERDAM.
Opt Eylant Manhattans.



NEW AMSTERDAM, now NEW YORK.
Taken from a Dutch Map of 1656.

Lithographed by Thomas Wells, 35, Rivington St, London.

CHAPTER XVII.

The rise of the Society in New York—Richard Smith, of Long Island, the first who joins Friends in that part—Some notice of him—Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Mary Weatherhead, Dorothy Waugh, and Sarah Gibbons, land at New Amsterdam—Robert Hodgson and Robert Fowler visit the Governor—Mary Weatherhead and Dorothy Waugh preach in the streets of New Amsterdam—They are seized and placed in a dungeon—The labours of Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, and Sarah Gibbons, on Long Island—Robert Hodgson is arrested and taken to New Amsterdam—He is placed in a dungeon and undergoes much cruel persecution—Several of those who had joined Friends on Long Island suffer for their religious profession—The Dutch pass a law for the suppression of Friends—A remonstrance of the inhabitants of Long Island against the law—Persecution is continued with greater severity—Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston visit New Netherlands—John Taylor and Mary Dyer visit Long Island—George Rofe visits the colony—John Bowne unites with Friends, and is subjected to much suffering—He is banished to Holland—The sentence of banishment reversed by the rulers of Holland—Their letter to the Governor of New Amsterdam on the subject—John Bowne returns to Long Island.

CORREL with the rise of the Society of Friends within the province of New England, was its origin in that of New York, then termed New Amsterdam. The first individual of this part who professed our religious views was Richard Smith, of Long Island. He had come to Great Britain on some particular object, which is not explained; and whilst in this country became convinced of the principles of Friends, which he steadily maintained in after life. In the summer of 1656, he arrived at Boston with eight Friends from London, and together with them was in a summary manner banished from the shores of Massachusetts. The English Friends were obliged to return in the vessel in which they came, but Richard Smith was taken to Long Island.

Though under the jurisdiction of the Dutch authorities of New Netherlands, at least as far eastward as Oyster Bay,* Long Island was colonized chiefly by English, who had "fled" from Puritan New England to enjoy, under Dutch legislation, that religious liberty and civil protection which had been denied them by their own countrymen. Richard Smith was one of this class. In 1641, he "purchased of the Sachems a tract of land in the Narragansett country, remote from English settlements, where he erected a house of trade, and gave free entertainment to all travellers."† Callender, in his "Historical Discourse," states that about 1643 there were two trading houses set up in the Narragansett country, one of which belonged to Roger Williams and another party, the other to Richard Smith.‡ His land lay in the vicinity of the present town of Warwick; and the probability is, that on the breaking out of the war between the Narragansett Indians and the United Colonies of New England, Richard Smith left it for the more peaceful territory of Long Island. Subsequently, however, he returned to Narragansett; and John Burnyeat, who visited that part in 1672, mentions having a meeting at his house.§ Roger Williams, who was intimately acquainted with him, says he was of a very respectable family. In a testimony which he gave, relative to Richard Smith's title to some land, he thus speaks: "Mr. Richard Smith, for his conscience to God, left faire possessions in Gloucestershire, and adventured with his relations and estate to New England; he was a most acceptable inhabitant, and prime leading man in Taunton, in Plymouth colony. For his conscience sake (many differences arising) he left Taunton and came to y^e Narragansett country, where, by God's mercy and y^e favour of y^e Sachems, he broke the ice (at his great charge and

* By a treaty made in 1654 with the colonies of New England, it was agreed that the Dutch territory should extend on Long Island as far east as Oyster Bay.

† See Holmes' Annals, and Massachusetts Historical Society Transactions, vol. v.

‡ Callender's Historical Discourse, published by Romeo Elton, p. 92.

§ Journal of John Burnyeat, Barclay's Series, p. 212.

hazards), and put up in y^e thickest of y^e barbarians, y^e first English house amongst them." "There," he continues, "in his owne house, with much serenity of soule, and comfort, he yielded up his spirit to God, y^e Father of spirits, in peace."*

The gospel messengers who crossed the Atlantic in Robert Fowler's vessel in 1657, were the first, of whom we have any account, that visited New Netherlands. Of the eleven who reached the shores of the new world on that occasion, five, viz., Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Mary Weatherhead, Dorothy Waugh, and Sarah Gibbons, landed at New Amsterdam on the first of the Sixth Month, 1657. On the day following, being First-day, Robert Fowler and Robert Hodgson paid a religious visit to Stuyvesant, the governor. "He was moderate," remarks Robert Fowler, "both in words and actions." The friendly disposition which he evinced towards Friends on their landing, was, however, but of short duration. The change is attributed to the influence of some Puritans, more particularly of Captain Willet, a persecuting magistrate of Plymouth, who was then at New Amsterdam, and who laboured successfully to embitter the mind of the governor against the strangers, inducing him to adopt the exiling policy pursued in Massachusetts. The persecuting course adopted by the governor, and which directly contravened the express directions of the Colonial Proprietaries for the toleration of all religious classes, seems unaccountable; but it is partly explained by the fact, that a short time previous to the arrival of the Friends, a dispute had arisen between Stuyvesant and the authorities of New England, on the question of boundary; when the former, feeling himself the weaker of the two, was anxious to conciliate the New Englanders, to avoid an appeal to arms.

On the day following the visit of Robert Fowler and Robert Hodgson to the governor, Mary Weatherhead and Dorothy Waugh, under a feeling of religious duty, went into the streets of New Amsterdam and publicly exhorted the people. The scene was new to the Dutch citizens; and the magistrates, angry at such public ministrations, caused the two Friends to be arrested,

* Collections of the Rhode Island Hist. Society, vol. iii.

and committed them to noisome and filthy dungeons apart from each other. So unhealthful, indeed, were these places, that it was thought by some that the prisoners would not survive their incarceration.* After a confinement of eight days in these wretched abodes, they were brought out, and, having their hands bound behind them, were led to a boat about to sail for Rhode Island, and taken thither. The unsectarian soil of this colony, which the Puritans designated the "Island of error," was, in the apprehension of Stuyvesant, the most fitting abode for "Quaker heretics."

In the meantime, their fellow-labourers in the ministry, Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, and Sarah Gibbons, proceeded to visit the settlers on Long Island, who were mostly English. Among them were many sincere seekers after heavenly riches, who were prepared to appreciate those spiritual views of religion which these gospel messengers had to declare. They proceeded first to Gravesend, where their "testimony was received;" and from thence passed to Jamaica, "where they were received with gladness;"† and next to Hampstead, where also they met with settlers who welcomed them to their homes, and rejoiced in the spread of those living truths which were preached among them. Richard Doudney and Sarah Gibbons left their companions at Hampstead, and travelled, it is believed, to the eastern division of Long Island, then part of the colony of New Haven, from whence they crossed to Rhode Island.

On the First-day after Robert Hodgson arrived at Hampstead, he appointed a meeting to be held in an orchard, to which the inhabitants were invited. There lived in the town an Englishman, who was a magistrate under the Dutch government, and who having heard of the intended meeting, sent a constable to arrest Robert Hodgson. The officer arrived at the place of meeting before the appointed time, where he found his victim alone, pacing the orchard in quiet meditation. Robert Hodgson was immediately seized and carried before the magistrate, "who," he observes, "kept me a prisoner in his house," but

* Secret Works, p. 12.

† Howgill's Popish Inquisition, p. 6.

while he went to his worship in the fore-part of the day, many staid and heard the truth declared." The magistrate on his return finding that his house had answered the purpose of a chapel, and that his prisoner had had so favourable an opportunity for gospel labour, wrote a mittimus for his removal to another house. The change, however, did not prevent the people from visiting him. "In the latter part of the day," he remarks, "many came to me, and those that had been mine enemies, after they had heard truth, confessed to it."*

There resided at Hampstead another magistrate, who disapproved of the course adopted by his colleague towards the stranger, a feeling in which most of the respectable inhabitants of the town also participated. But the persecuting magistrate, "taking counsel of the baser sort,"† committed R. Hodgson to prison, and then set off for New Amsterdam to inform the governor of what had taken place. The proceedings met with the approval of Stuyvesant, who, determining to proceed with vigour in the suppression of the "Quaker heresy," forthwith despatched the sheriff and gaoler, with a guard of twelve musketeers, to bring the prisoner and those who had entertained him to new Amsterdam. On the arrival of these at Hampstead, Robert Hodgson was searched, and his bible, papers, and some other articles, being taken from him, he was pinioned in a barbarous manner and so kept until the following day. During this interval, the officers were busy in searching "for those who had entertained" the stranger, and on this ground two hospitable women were arrested. On the following day preparations were made for conveying the arrested parties to New Amsterdam. The two females were placed in a cart, to the hinder part of which they fastened Robert Hodgson in his pinioned condition. The distance they had to travel was nearly thirty miles, over bad roads, and through the woods. The journey, which was performed mostly during the night, was a very painful one to the prisoners, especially to R. Hodgson, who was much bruised and torn.

Having reached their destination, the two women were im-

* Howgill's Popish Inquisition, p. 7.

† Norton's Ensign, p. 15.

prisoned, but the period of their detention was short. The punishment of R. Hodgson, however, was one of great severity. Being loosed from the cart, he was led by the gaoler to one of the dungeons of the city, a place "full of vermin," says the prisoner, and "so odious, for wet and dirt, as I never saw."* On the following day, he was brought before the Court for examination, an English captain officiating as interpreter, but of the nature of the examination, or what passed on the occasion, we are uninformed. He was brought up the next day, when the sentence of the Court was read to him in their own language, and afterwards thus interpreted to him,—“It is the General’s pleasure, seeing you have behaved yourself thus, that you are to work two years at a wheelbarrow with a negro, or pay or cause to be paid 600 guilders.”† Robert Hodgson, conscious of his innocence, and that he had committed no breach of the laws of Holland, attempted to make his defence against the cruel decision. Stuyvesant, however, would not suffer him to speak, but remanded him to the wretched dungeon, with orders that none of his countrymen should be allowed to visit him. In a few days, he was again brought out, when a paper in the Dutch language was read to him. Of the nature of its contents he was ignorant, but the Dutch people who heard it “shook their heads” in token of disapprobation, and sympathized with the sufferer.

After a further incarceration of several days, he was brought out, and having been chained to a wheelbarrow, was commanded to work on some repairs of the city walls, which were then going forward. He felt restrained from recognising the dictation of his persecutors, and declined to obey. Excited at the unexpected refusal, the authorities, in order to reduce him to submission, directed “a lusty crabbed negro slave,”‡ to beat him with a tarred rope. The negro, obedient to the order of his masters, commenced the cruel task, and continued it until Robert Hodgson, faint from suffering, fell to the ground. The beating, severe as it had been, was not severe enough to satisfy the sheriff who superintended the affair. At his bidding the sufferer was raised,

* Howgill’s Popish Inquisition, p. 7. † Norton’s Ensign, p. 16.

‡ Gerard Croese’s History of Friends, part ii., p. 156.

and the negro commanded to renew his work. After an infliction of about one hundred blows, the prisoner fainted a second time. Having failed in their attempts to force him to work, the officers conducted him to the governor to complain of his obstinacy. The governor resided at the fort, and here Robert Hodgson was left the whole of the day. Towards noon the heat of the sun became oppressive, when, being unsheltered from its rays, and having for some time had but little food, oppressed also with his lacerated condition, he again fainted. On the following day he was again commanded to work, but steadfast to his convictions, he still refused. During these sufferings, his mind, he observes, "was staid upon the Lord," and he was sweetly refreshed and strengthened by His living power.

Having been closely confined in the dungeon for about a week, Robert Hodgson had to endure sufferings of a still more barbarous description. The hard-hearted Stuyvesant, by some of the settlers in milder tone called "hard headed," unrelenting towards the victim of his displeasure, now ordered him to be stripped to the waist, to be hung up by the hands with weights attached to his feet, and, thus suspended, to be beaten severely with rods. The sentence was executed with great cruelty, after which he was again led to his miserable abode, and for two days and nights kept without food. "Afterwards," remarks the sufferer, "they took me forth again, and asked me if I would pay the fine; but I told them I could not." The command to work was then repeated, and continuing to refuse, he was a second time suspended by the hands, and cruelly beaten.

Being greatly exhausted by his sufferings, Robert Hodgson solicited that some of the English inhabitants of the city might be allowed to visit him. His request having been granted, he was soon visited by a feeling woman, who gave the needful attention to his wounds, and administered to his wants; but his body was so torn, and his strength so reduced, that she expected death in another day, would terminate all his sufferings. The tender-hearted woman on her return home, informed her husband of Robert Hodgson's critical state. It excited his commiseration, and in his anxiety for the recovery of the sufferer, he immediately

offered the authorities "a fat ox" to be allowed to remove him from the dungeon to his own dwelling, where he might receive proper attention, and have those comforts of which his miserable abode was destitute. The offer of the humane settler being communicated to Stuyvesant, this mercenary governor refused to allow the removal of the prisoner, unless the fine were paid of six hundred guilders. The sufferings of Robert Hodgson had excited the sympathy of many others in New Amsterdam, "both Dutch and English," and on the refusal of the governor to accept the ransom, a number of them came forward and offered to raise the amount requisite to obtain his release. He, however, did not feel easy to accept his liberation on this principle, and in a belief that the Lord would heal him, and that strength would be given him to labour for his sustenance during his imprisonment, he declined the kind offer of the citizens. He now rapidly recovered, and in a few days was sufficiently strong to work, "not being free," he observed "to partake of the coarse prison diet, without labouring for it."

The cruelties to which Robert Hodgson had been subjected, caused no small degree of excitement among the settlers in New Netherlands. The colony had been famed for its religious toleration, and emigrants from different regions had sought it as a land where freedom of conscience was especially recognised. It soon became known that the persecution of Friends was mainly attributable to the malevolent whispers of Captain Willett, of Massachusetts, who received very intelligible intimations from the colonists of their dissatisfaction with his conduct. Willett, anxious to regain the esteem which he had so justly forfeited, now petitioned the governor for Robert Hodgson's release. A sister of Stuyvesant, whose sympathies were enlisted on behalf of the sufferer, also exerted her influence for his liberation. The aversion of the colonists to religious persecution, together with the entreaties of Willett and the governor's sister, obtained the object, and thus, without paying any portion of the fine, Robert Hodgson was again at liberty to pursue his gospel labours. His discharge took place about the middle of the Seventh Month, 1657, soon after which he proceeded to Rhode Island.

Persecution within the limits of New Netherlands, was not confined to the gospel labourers who visited it from England. Several of the inhabitants of Long Island, who had embraced the principles of Friends, were also subjected to suffering for their religion, among the earliest of whom were John Tilton, Joane Chatterton, Henry Townsend, Tobias Feak or Fecco, and Edward Hart. In the Seventh Month, 1657, Henry Townsend, who resided at Jamaica, was fined eight pounds for having assisted Robert Hodgson in holding a meeting. Stuyvesant, imitating the intolerant legislation of Massachusetts, enacted a law which provided that if any of the settlers should receive a Friend into their houses, but for a night, they should be fined fifty pounds; one-third of which was to be paid to the informer, whose name, in order to promote the operation of the law, was to be kept secret. Another provision was, that if any Friends should be brought into that jurisdiction, the vessel in which they came should be forfeited, with all its goods.*

The law which Stuyvesant had passed for the suppression of Quakerism, being a new feature in the government of the colony, produced considerable dissatisfaction among the settlers on Long Island, particularly among those residing at Flushing. Tobias Fecco, the sheriff, and Edward Hart, the town clerk of that place, were prominent in the expression of this feeling; and the latter, having drawn up a remonstrance to the governor on the subject, convened a meeting of the inhabitants of Flushing and its vicinity, in order that the document might receive their sanction. The document was approved by the meeting, signed, and committed to the care of the sheriff, to be forwarded to the governor.

The protest was presented to the governor and council on the twenty-ninth of the Tenth Month. Stuyvesant was highly indignant at its presentation. The spirit of independence which it breathed, was construed to be "mutinous;" and orders were immediately issued for the arrest of the sheriff as the bearer of it. The fact that two of the magistrates of Flushing, and Edward Hart, the town clerk, had attached their names to the document,

* New England Judged, p. 218.

attracted the special attention of the governor and council, and warrants were forthwith dispatched to Long Island, requiring their personal appearance. In three days, Edward Farrington and William Noble, the two magistrates, were arraigned before the council, and in a summary manner committed to prison. These arbitrary proceedings were, in the opinion of the two enlightened magistrates, altogether unconstitutional, and at variance with that liberty of conscience which the proprietors designed should be recognised in the province, and after a week's imprisonment they concluded to represent their views to the authorities, and addressed a letter to them on the subject. "Our patent," they said, "we call our charter; we have heard it read, and do conceive it grants liberty of conscience without modification, either of brevet or benefice." Their construction of the liberal meaning of the patent was clearly the correct one, but they wished to avoid the appearance of self-confidence. "If we are in the dark therein," they continued, "we desire your honours to direct us." Stuyvesant, however, was inflexible. Anxious to escape from their miserable abode, the prisoners on the following day, addressed a short petition to the court, praying for pardon; this met with a more favourable reception, and Farrington and Noble were released from gaol, but with the restriction to "remain on the Manhattan, under promise to appear at the first summons." Edward Hart appeared before the court on the 3rd of the Eleventh Month, and having been charged with the authorship of the protest, was sent to gaol to wait their further orders.

The council of New Amsterdam, following up their intolerant proceedings, issued a summons in a few days, for the appearance of Henry Townsend. The complaint preferred against him was for having entertained and corresponded with Friends. In about a week he obeyed the summons, when, "as an example for other transgressors and contumelious offenders," he was condemned "in an amende of three hundred guilders, to be applied as it ought to be, and that he shall remain arrested till the said amende shall be paid, besides the costs and mises of justice."

John Tilton of Gravesend was another victim of Stuyvesant's hatred to Friends. A warrant having been issued for his appre-

hension, for receiving and entertaining a banished woman Friend, he forwarded to the Court a defence of his case, in which he stated, that the Friend came to his house during his absence ; his statement, however, was unavailing, and on the 10th of the Eleventh Month he was sentenced to pay "an amende of £12. Flanders, with costs and mises of justice." His offence is thus set forth in the records of the council : "Whereas, John Tilton, residing at South Gravesend, now under arrest, has dared to provide a Quaker woman with lodging, who was banished out of the province of New Netherlands ; so, too, some other persons of the adherents, belonging to the abominable sect of the Quakers, which is directly contrary to the orders and placards of the director-general and council of New Netherlands, and therefore, as an example to others, ought to be severely punished."

The day on which John Tilton received his sentence, John Townsend was brought before the Court. He was one of those who had signed the protest at Flushing, and there were circumstances which led the authorities to suspect that he was otherwise favourably disposed towards Friends. He was therefore committed to prison, while the attorney-general made enquiry if he had in any manner contravened the orders of the governor.

Whether any others of those who signed the protest adopted at the meeting at Flushing, were proceeded against, it does not appear. The Flushing remonstrance, however, was a subject of grave deliberation with the governor and council, and with a view to discourage such expressions of opinion in future, in the First Month, 1658, a minute in council was drawn up, from which the following is extracted :—

"We, director-general and council in New Netherlands, having maturely considered the mutinous orders and resolutions adopted by the sheriff, clerk, magistrates, and the majority of the inhabitants of the village Vlessingen, signed on the 27th of December, 1657, and delivered a few days after to the director-general by the sheriff, Tobias Fecco, by which resolution they not only contemn, infringe, and oppose the aforesaid order of the director-general and council against the Quakers, and other sectarians, daring to

express themselves in so many words, that they cannot stretch out their arms against them, to punish, banish, or persecute them by imprisonment; that they, so as God shall move their consciences, will admit each sectarian in their houses and villages, and permit them to leave these again, which, as said before, is contrary to the orders and placards of the director-general and council, and directly in opposition of these; a case, indeed, of the worst and most dangerous tendency, as treading, absolutely, the authority of the director-general and council under their feet, and, therefore, well deserved to be corrected and punished, for an example to others, with the total annihilation of the privileges and exemptions which were granted from time to time to the aforesaid village; and besides this, with a corporal punishment and banishment of each one who signed the aforesaid mutinous resolution. But the director-general and council, in the hope of greater prudence in future, are actuated towards their subjects more by mercy than by the extremes of rigorous justice; more so, as they were inclined by several circumstances to believe that many, yea, the majority, were encouraged by the previous signatures of the sheriff, clerk, and some of the magistrates. Wherefore, the director-general and council pardon, remit, and forgive this transgression against the authority of the director-general and council." The minute then refers to the appointment of a magistrate for Flushing more versed in the Dutch language, and provides "that in future no similar meetings shall be convoked or holden, except for highly interesting or pregnant reasons, which shall previously be communicated to the director-general and council by the sheriff, &c.;" and it concludes by commanding the inhabitants of Flushing "to look out for a good, pious, and orthodox minister," and that such an one should be "encouraged," by their providing for him "a decent maintenance."

About one year after the landing at New Netherlands of the Friends who came in the "Woodhouse," Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston arrived in the province. They had travelled inland from Virginia, and had religious service among the Indians, who received them kindly and heard them with attention, but soon after they

had entered the territory of the Dutch, they were arrested, imprisoned for a few hours, and then carried under an escort of soldiery, to an adjacent island, supposed to be Staten Island. A few Dutch families had settled at this place; special orders, however, were given that none of them should entertain the strangers, or assist them to leave the island. The sufferers, after remaining there for two days, met with some kindly disposed Indians, who conveyed them to Long Island, "where," observes Josiah Cole, "we found some Friends in the Truth, by whom we were much refreshed."* Soon after their arrival in Long Island, Josiah Cole left his companion, "he not being of ability," he remarks, "to travel on so fast as it lay upon me." Having travelled about one hundred and fifty miles on Long Island, he crossed over to New England.

The inhabitants of Long Island were settled chiefly on that part of it which lay contiguous to the continent. At its eastern extremity, however, and in the small Islands adjacent, there were those who had embraced the principles of Friends, among whom the name of Nathaniel Silvester deserves notice. He was the sole proprietor of Shelter Island,† which lies in an inlet of the sea near the eastern point of Long Island, measuring in extent about five miles from east to west, and about seven miles from north to south. Of the period when he became possessed of this interesting little domain, or when he joined in religious profession with Friends, we are uninformed, but as early as the Third Month, 1659, he is referred to as one who had adopted our principles. It was in that year, that Laurence and Cassandra Southwick, on being driven from their home in Massachusetts, sought and found an asylum in the territory of this island; there is, indeed, good reason to believe, that its name is derived from the refuge which it afforded to the victims of intolerance. William Robinson, writing to George Fox about this time, speaks of its owner as "a fine noble man." The liberality and kindness of Nathaniel Silvester became known to Friends in

* Letter of Josiah Cole to G. Bishop, 1658.

† Journal of John Taylor, p. 5; and Letter of W. Robinson to George Fox, 1659.

England, and John Taylor of York, when he visited America in 1659, first landed on the shores of Shelter Island,* and was, he says, "very kindly received." Except this island, and the colony of Rhode Island, there was not at this time a nook in the colonies of North America, on which a Friend could land, without exposing himself to severe suffering, and the ship-master to a heavy penalty. The possession, therefore, of the island in question, by one who loved the truth, was a providential circumstance, peculiarly favourable to Friends at this juncture, and not to be viewed as one of mere chance.

John Taylor next passed to Long Island, "to seek," as he remarks "the lost." In its villages and towns, he found "many sober people that feared God, and were convinced of the blessed Truth;" and who, he continues, "received me and my testimony readily with gladness, and many meetings of the people were settled under the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, our Free Teacher, at Gravesend, Seatancott, Oyster Bay, Hemstead and other places." In the "woods and wilderness" on Long Island, he adds, "we also had meetings." While thus pursuing his gospel labours, he was joined in the winter of 1659, by Mary Dyer; "several brave meetings," he writes, "we had together, and the Lord's power and presence was with us gloriously."†

The next gospel minister who appears to have visited New Netherlands, was George Rofe. After labouring in Virginia and Maryland, he reached the Dutch province in 1661, "having sailed in a small boat with only two Friends." I had good service, "he writes," among both Dutch and English. I was in the chief city of the Dutch, and gave a good sound, but they forced me away; and so we had meetings through the islands in good service."‡

Among the convinced who resided at Gravesend on Long Island, Croese the Dutch historian mentions the "Countess of Mordee" who had previously professed with the Puritans, and whom he terms "a noble lady." The meetings of Friends at

* Journal of J. Taylor, p. 5.

† Ibid, 8.

‡ Letter of G. Rofe, to R. Hubberthorne, 1661.

Gravesend were held in her house: "but," says Croese, "she managed it with that prudence and observance of time and place, as gave no offence to any stranger, or person of another religion, and so she and her people remained free from all molestation and disturbance."* At Flushing, however, things were different; and, unprotected by the influence of the rich, Friends were driven to hold their meetings in the adjacent woods. These were occasionally attended by other professors, among whom was Hannah Bowne, who soon united with the persecuted community. Her husband John Bowne, desirous to ascertain more particulars of the sect to which his wife had now become united, went on one occasion to see Friends during the time of their meeting in the woods. The beauty and simplicity of their worship, made a deep and lasting impression on his mind, and having his heart expanded in love towards the hunted little company, he generously invited them for the future to hold their meetings at his house, an offer which, it appears, was readily accepted. Dwelling near the fountain of all true knowledge and wisdom, John Bowne was soon given to see that the principles which his wife had embraced, harmonized with the doctrines of Christ his Saviour, and under this conviction, he also openly professed with the united, small, persecuted flock.

The conscientious course pursued by John Bowne drew down the displeasure of the authorities of New Amsterdam, and in the Sixth Month, 1662, a complaint was preferred against him for permitting the meetings of Friends to be held at his house.† He was accordingly arrested, sentenced to pay a fine of £25. Flemish, together with the court charges, and expressly admonished to discontinue the meetings under the penalty of banishment. Having refused to pay the unjust imposition, he was committed to a noisome dungeon at New Amsterdam, where, says Bishop, "he was kept very long, and well nigh famished to death."‡ The governor, finding that this punishment was ineffectual to reduce the prisoner to submission, determined to enforce the threat of banishment. Having been taken to the

* Albany Records.

† Croese Hist. of Friends, part II. p. 157.

‡ New England Judged, p. 422.

Stadthouse, where his wife and friends were permitted to see him, J. Bowne was informed that it was resolved he should pay the fine within three months, or be exiled from the country. The cruel edict, however, did not induce him to deny his Lord, and continuing steadfast, he was in the Tenth Month, placed on board a Dutch vessel, and conveyed to Holland. The banishment of a settler on account of religion, from the dominions of the Dutch, was a circumstance so extraordinary, that the colonial authorities at New Amsterdam deemed it prudent to forward a despatch to the directors of the West India Company, by the ship which bore John Bowne into exile, in which the nature of his offence was explained. The following is a copy of the despatch.

“Honourable, right respectable Gentlemen,—We omitted in our general letter the troubles and difficulties which we, and many of our good inhabitants, have since some time met with ; and which are daily renewed, by the sect called Quakers, chiefly in the country, and principally in the English villages, establishing forbidden conventicles, and frequenting those against our published placards ; and disturbing, in a manner, the public peace ; in so far, that several of our magistrates and well-affectioned subjects remonstrated and complained to us, from time to time, of their insufferable obstinacy, unwilling to obey our orders or judgment.

“Among others, one of their principal leaders, John Bowne, who, for his transgression, was, in conformity to the placards, condemned in an amende of 150 guilders ; who has been now under arrest more than three months, for his unwillingness to pay, obstinately persisting in his refusal, in which he still continues, we at last resolved, or were rather compelled to transport him in this ship from this province, in the hope that others might by it be discouraged. If, nevertheless, by these means, no more salutary impression is made upon others, we shall, though against our inclinations, be compelled to prosecute such persons in a more severe manner. On which we previously solicit to be favoured with your honours’ wise and foreseeing judgment, &c.

“*Fort Amsterdam, New Netherlands, Jan. 9th, 1663.*”

John Bowne arrived in Holland in the Second Month, 1663, and feeling that the cause for which he suffered was a just and righteous one, and that his political rights had been outraged, he naturally sought redress for his wrongs. Benjamin Furly and William Caton, who were at that time in Holland, assisted him ; and in company with them he obtained several interviews with the Directors of the West India Company. These were men of enlightened consciences, who prized religious freedom as one of the greatest blessings of their land. They could not, therefore, sanction the illiberal and persecuting policy of the colonial legislature, and in a few weeks after John Bowne had landed in Holland, the directors reversed his sentence, and returned the following enlightened reply to the rulers at New Amsterdam :—

“ Amsterdam, 16th April, 1663.

“ We finally did see, from your last letter, that you had exiled and transported hither a certain Quaker, named John Bowne, and although it is our cordial desire that similar and other sectarians might not be found there, yet as the contrary seems to be the fact, we doubt very much if vigorous proceedings against them ought not to be discontinued, except you intend to check and destroy your population ; which, however, in the youth of your existence, ought rather to be encouraged by all possible means : Wherefore, it is our opinion, that some connivance would be useful ; that the consciences of men, at least, ought ever to remain free and unshackled. Let every one be unmolested, as long as he is modest ; as long as his conduct in a political sense is irreproachable ; as long as he does not disturb others, or oppose the government. This maxim of moderation has always been the guide of the magistrates of this city, and the consequence has been that, from every land, people have flocked to this asylum. Tread thus in their steps, and, we doubt not, you will be blessed.

“ ABRAHAM WILMENDONK.

“ DAVID VAN BAERLE.”

Having received full permission from the directors of the West

India Company to return to his home, with a guarantee of protection and of entire religious liberty, John Bowne, after visiting some of his relatives and friends in England, and also the island of Barbadoes, reached Flushing again in the early part of 1664. From this period full toleration was enjoyed by the Society of Friends in the Dutch possessions of North America. It is said that Stuyvesant on meeting John Bowne, soon after his return from banishment, expressed his regret for the course he had pursued, and assured him that neither he nor his friends would be molested for the future. The letter of the directors, doubtless, under the divine blessing, produced this change in the conduct of the governor. His opportunity, however, of exhibiting a different policy was but short ; preparations were then making by the English for the war by which, before the conclusion of the same year, New Netherlands was wrested from the Dutch, and became a British colony under the name of New York.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Mary Tomkins, Alice Ambrose, and others visit the colony of New York—The religious services and sufferings of John Liddal—John Burnyeat's gospel labours in New York and on Long Island—George Fox and other ministers visit the province: their religious labours on Long Island—William Edmundson visits the colony in 1672 and again in 1676—The gospel services of William and Alice Curwen, John Boweter and Joan Vokins—Epistle of Joan Vokins—Brief notice of the lives of Robert Hodgson and John Taylor—Remarks on the increase of Friends in the colony of New York, Meetings for Worship, and the general state of the Society in 1682.

DURING the time of John Bowne's banishment, in 1663, the colony of New Netherlands was visited by several gospel labourers. Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, on leaving New England proceeded to Oyster Bay, accompanied by Edward Wharton and William Reap. From Oyster Bay they journeyed to Flushing, where "they were much refreshed,"* on witnessing "the faithfulness and fellowship" of Friends. They then passed on to Gravesend, where they met with their fellow-labourers in the ministry, Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, and Jane Millard, who had just returned from a visit to Virginia and Maryland. The unexpected meeting of these gospel messengers in a foreign land, was a source of much joy to them, and they were comforted "in the love and fellowship of the Lord, and one another!"†

Whilst the Friends above referred to were at Gravesend, they felt it to be their religious duty to proceed to New Amsterdam; a service in which they were joined by John and Mary Tilton of the former place. On their way they visited Flatbush, a town about ten miles from the capital. In passing through this place,

* New England Judged, p. 422.

† Ibid, p. 424.

John Liddal felt constrained publicly to exhort the inhabitants to repentance. With a view to deter Friends from visiting the colony, the governor had issued instructions to the officers, immediately to seize and place in irons all "Quakers who should preach amongst them."* John Liddal was, therefore, immediately arrested, ironed, and conveyed under an escort of Dutch soldiery to New Amsterdam. The rest of the company followed, and the entrance of the motley group into the city of New Netherlands, gave rise to much excitement. As they passed through the streets, John Liddal again felt called to address the people; "the trumpet of the Lord," observes Bishop, "sounded with great dread, and was very terrible, and much people came together." On approaching the Fort, where the governor resided, the company were met by the Fiscal, who, displeased on seeing so many of the inhabitants assembled and listening to Quaker ministrations, committed all the Friends to prison. To have nine Friends in the prisons of New Amsterdam at one time, was a new circumstance in the history of that city, and the Fiscal appeared somewhat ashamed of his proceeding; but, wishing to make it appear a mild policy, in comparison of the persecutions at Boston, he remarked "that they did not hang them, as their countrymen in New England did." After a few days' imprisonment, at the request of a humane Dutch Captain, who offered to convey them from the colony, they were all released, except John and Mary Tilton. About this time, Thomas Newhouse visited New Netherlands. He also was imprisoned, and soon after, banished to New England.† After their expulsion from New Amsterdam, Alice Ambrose, and Mary Tomkins, in company with George Preston, again visited Long Island.

In the year 1666, that unwearied labourer in the work of the gospel, John Burnyeat, landed at New York. No particulars, however, of his services in this province have come down to us; and the only reference which he himself makes to them is, that he "spent some time there amongst Friends in going through their

* New England Judged, p. 424: † Ibid, p. 425:

meetings.* In 1671, during John Burnyeat's second visit to the western continent, he again laboured in this province. He landed on this occasion at New York, in the Second Month, and proceeded without much delay to visit his brethren of Long Island, and attended the half-yearly meeting held at Oyster Bay. The first notice of the existence of a meeting for discipline, among Friends of Long Island, is that of the one in question ; but there is good reason to believe, that this meeting had been established for some years prior to this date. After a journey of some months in New England, John Burnyeat returned to Long Island, and was present at the half-yearly meeting in the Eighth Month, 1671, and which, he remarks, was " a blessed time."

On Long Island, as in some other parts of America, there were those who had imbibed the notions of John Perrot, and who were opposed to the establishment of meetings for discipline. The most prominent of these attended the half-yearly meeting for the purpose of promoting their schismatical opinions. Their object, however, was not accomplished, for John Burnyeat was enabled, under the influence of that wisdom which is profitable to direct, to point out this snare to his brethren, and to confirm them in " the blessed order of the truth into which they were gathered and sweetly settled." " The Lord's power," he writes, " broke in upon the meeting, and Friends' hearts were broken, and great meltings in the power there were amongst us ; and in the same we blessed the Lord, and praised him."† Leaving Oyster Bay, he proceeded to Flushing, Gravesend, and New York ; at each of which places, he was enabled publicly to preach the way of salvation with convincing energy and power.

It was the intention of John Burnyeat to quit the shores of America soon after leaving New York ; but having unexpectedly met with George Fox, Robert Widders, and George Pattison, in the south, he returned with them to Oyster Bay in time to attend the half-yearly meeting held there in the Third Month, 1672. The presence of George Fox and his companions on this occasion,

* Journal of J. Burnyeat.

† Ibid.

is mentioned as having been of "great service to the truth, and of great comfort to Friends." The meeting lasted four days; the first and second of which were occupied in holding meetings for the inhabitants at large, the third to meetings for discipline, and the fourth to a meeting with the "dissatisfied ones." Respecting the proceedings of the fourth day, George Fox remarks, "the Lord's power broke forth gloriously, to the confounding of the gainsayers,—and the glorious truth of God was exalted and set over all, and they were all brought down and bowed under."* After visiting some other parts of Long Island, the English Friends took boat for New England.

The next gospel labourer who visited the province of New York, was William Edmundson, who arrived soon after the departure of George Fox for New England. Although there were many Friends on Long Island, yet up to this period none, it appears, had united with the Society in the city of New York, and William Edmundson on landing took up his abode at an inn. It is somewhat singular, that New York and Boston, the capitals of their respective provinces, and at that time the only two places of much importance in North America, were alike unfavourable to the progress of Quakerism. With respect to New York, we do not find that Friends had been much drawn to preach their enlightened views in this rising emporium of the new world; William Edmundson, however, felt it right to convene a meeting; and in the dining-room of his hostess, he met many of its citizens. Here, he remarks, "we had a brave large meeting; some of the chief officers, magistrates, and leading men of the town were at it; very attentive they were, the Lord's power being over them all."†

On leaving New York, William Edmundson proceeded to Long Island, where, he observes, "were many honest tender Friends." He held several meetings with his brethren on this island, in which, he says, "we were well refreshed, and comforted together in the Lord." From thence he passed to Shelter Island, where he met with George Fox. Here, in the enjoy-

* Journal of George Fox, vol. ii., p. 159.

† Journal of William Edmundson p. 93.

ment of the generous hospitality of Nathaniel Silvester, these two eminent servants of the Most High related their travels and their services on the western continent ; and, under a sense of the Divine presence and blessing that had attended their labours, their hearts were lifted up in praise to their Great Master for these tokens of his goodness.

From Shelter Island George Fox and his companions, who now included James Lancaster, and, it appears, also Christopher Holder, took shipping for Oyster Bay, where they arrived in the Sixth Month. At this place, and also at Flushing, they had very large meetings, some of those who attended them having come from a distance of thirty miles. Whilst George Fox was engaged in the work of his Redeemer at these places, Christopher Holder and some others were similarly occupied in the town of Jamaica. At Gravesend, George Fox held three meetings, "to which," he says, "many would have come from New York but that the weather hindered them." About two months after, John Burnyeat, on his return from New England, again visited Long Island, and New York, being accompanied on this occasion, by John Cartwright ; from whence he proceeded to Maryland, and in a few weeks after embarked for Ireland.

In the year 1676, William Edmundson went on a second visit to the churches in America. He landed on this occasion at Rhode Island, and, after much religious service in New England, he came to Long Island, where "Friends received him gladly." "We stayed in that part," he observes, "for some time, and had large and precious meetings." His labours were also blessed to some of those who had been led astray under the delusive notions of Perrot, and who had, at times, been troublesome. "Some of them," he remarks, "were reached and brought back to the truth."*

During the year 1676, this portion of America was also visited by William and Alice Curwen. Their services were extended to Shelter Island, Long Island and New York. The interest of these devoted ministers was much awakened on behalf

* Journal of William Edmundson, p. 117.

of Friends in these localities, and, after leaving them, they endeavoured by epistolary communications to strengthen them in their christian course. In the following year, John Boweter arrived in the province; he, however, gives us no particulars of his religious engagements, further than that he held meetings at New York, Gravesend, Flushing, and Oyster Bay. The next gospel labourer whom we have to notice is Joan Vokins, who landed at New York in 1680. At this place there had been, she says, "hurt done by some," and which had led to the discontinuance of their week-day meeting. "I laboured to settle it again," she continues, "and God's eternal power wrought wonderfully in me, in several meetings with his people, and we were well refreshed." From this city she crossed over to Long Island, and laboured in the love of the gospel among her brethren in the towns of that locality. "The Lord," she remarks, "had a tender people there, and his power was amongst them, and we were sweetly refreshed together." Like her friends William and Alice Curwen, Joan Vokins was also engaged, when separated from this part of the Society, to cheer and encourage them on their heavenly way, by written exhortations. The following, selected from one of these, shows the ardency of her soul for the welfare of her brethren:—

FOR FRIENDS AT GRAVESEND, IN LONG ISLAND, AND
ELSEWHERE.

DEAR FRIENDS,—My love and life salutes you, and in that which unites unto our God, and endears us in the heavenly relation, you are often in my remembrance; and my soul's desire is, that we may feel each other in a living growth in that life and love of God which reaches over sea and land, and satisfieth our souls.

The breathing of my soul to the God of my life is, that we may all keep low in the valley of our Father's love, where the well-spring of life doth overflow, that our souls through its sweet refreshings may live unto him; that through its arising, we may magnify his name, and celebrate his praise.

Oh! dear hearts, feel his love, for it requires love, my

soul can truly say. Oh! what manner of love, is this, that he hath loved us with, that, when we were afar off and strangers to him, he made known his precious truth unto us, and revealed a measure thereof in us, to help our infirmities and to teach us, when we could find no comfort of all the teachings of the idol shepherds, nor any help for our infirmities. Oh, how precious was his voice, and comely was his countenance, and how tenderly were our hearts affected therewith, in the day of our conviction! Oh, it was a day of love never to be forgotten! And how hath he surrounded us by his power ever since. Surely his fatherly love hath been, and is, sufficient to oblige us to obedience.

Therefore, let our hearts magnify his name, and our souls, and all that is within us, return praises and thanksgiving unto him; for he is worthy, who is God blessed for ever, and evermore. Amen, saith my soul, who am a traveller in spirit for the tender seed, and a rejoicer in its prosperity.

JOAN VOKINS.

*Written, it is supposed, soon after her
return home from America.*

A notice of the lives of several of the gospel ministers who laboured in the colony of New York has already been given. We here insert a similar brief sketch respecting Robert Hodgson and John Taylor.

ROBERT HODGSON.

The first notice that we find respecting Robert Hodgson occurs in 1655, while on a gospel mission in Berkshire; in the course of which he was imprisoned at Reading, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance when tendered to him by the mayor, before whom he was brought for ministering to the people.* In the following year he again visited Reading, and, as on the former occasion, he was again taken before a magistrate, who sent him to gaol for not taking off his hat when in his presence, and for not having, as it is stated, "a certificate of his travel." Of the place of his

* MS. Sufferings.

residence it is difficult to speak with certainty, but the probabilities are, that it was near Skipton in Yorkshire. After his release from the dungeon at New Amsterdam, he proceeded to New England, and towards the close of 1658, he appears to have joined his aged friend William Brend and a few others in a visit to the West India islands ; from whence he sailed to Virginia. For about ten years from this date, he appears to have been occupied in the service of his Lord in the colonies of North America, his return to England having taken place in 1669.* After remaining in England about two years and a half, he embarked a second time for the shores of America, and five years later we find him engaged on Rhode Island, being the latest account which we have been able to find respecting him. It appears somewhat probable that he settled and died in America.

JOHN TAYLOR.

John Taylor was born about the year 1638. His parents at a later date were residing in Huntingdonshire, and there is reason to believe his birth took place in that county. At an early age he had living desires after a knowledge of the truth, and in his youthful years, when the meetings of Friends were first established in Huntingdonshire, he occasionally attended them ; but the persecution and derision, to which Friends were then exposed, caused him to hesitate in openly professing with them. In 1656, George Fox first visited this county, and, under his baptizing ministry, John Taylor was fully convinced of the spiritual views of Friends, and "by whom," he remarks, "I was thoroughly resolved of all doubts, and settled in the blessed truth." He was then about eighteen years of age. George Fox became deeply interested in the best welfare of his convert, and a free conversation took place between them. John Taylor observed, that Friends "were a people despised, hated, and persecuted by all ;" that he "saw nothing to be had among them but a righteous life ; and that," he continued, "one might have among others that were not so hated and persecuted." George Fox saw the conflict of his

* Letter of Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell, 1669.

mind, and that he was struggling to reconcile an easier path as the pathway to peace. "He then," says John Taylor, "took me by the hand, and said, 'Young man, here are three scriptures thou must witness fulfilled. Thou must be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and so thou mayst come to the knowledge of the glory of God; and thou shalt be changed from glory to glory; and this is the word of the Lord unto thee.' "*"

Following on to know the Lord, John Taylor "grew in the truth," and "in a little time," he writes, "I was moved of the Lord to travel into the West of England, to preach the everlasting gospel, and to tell to others what the Lord had done for my soul." On his return from this journey he proceeded to London, and soon after embarked on his religious visit to America. He sailed in the Second Month 1659, being then only about twenty-one years of age. After a long and tedious voyage, he arrived at Shelter Island, where he was kindly received by Nathaniel Silvester. He then proceeded to Long Island, New England, and thence to the West Indies, and returned after an absence of about three years.

Soon after John Taylor's return from his transatlantic visit, he went on gospel service to London. His arrival there was during the severe persecution of Friends which followed the outbreak of the Fifth monarchy men, and in common with a large number of his friends, he was taken from a meeting and committed to gaol, from which, however, he was released in the Second Month, 1661. "After awhile," he observes, "it was upon me from the Lord to go into America again." Obedient to the heavenly call, he left London, in 1662, for the West Indies, and visited the Islands of Nevis, Barbadoes, and Jamaica. At Jamaica he believed it was required of him to settle. Having lived about one year on this island, he returned to London to accomplish an intended marriage, after which he resided for about two years longer at Jamaica as a merchant. Early in 1666, he left Jamaica with his wife and family, in a ship "bound for Barbadoes, through the gulf of Florida." But

* Journal of John Taylor, p. 2.

the vessel having been carried out of its course, the voyage was so prolonged that at last it was deemed needful to sail to New England for supplies. They reached Boston in the Third Month, where John Taylor and his family landed. At this place he stayed three weeks and then removed to Rhode Island, from whence, after remaining about six months, he proceeded to Barbadoes and resided there until the year 1676, when he returned to England and settled at York, as a sugar refiner. During his residence in Barbadoes he was frequently from home in the service of his Divine Master, not only in the islands of the West Indies, but also in England, Ireland and Holland. After he settled at York he was also largely engaged in the work of the ministry in different parts of the nation, to the comfort and edification of his friends. He died in the Twelfth Month, 1708, aged about seventy years, having been a minister about fifty years.*

As in New England, so also in the province of New York, the Society of Friends from its rise made a gradual and onward progress, and many of those who had embraced its doctrines, shone brightly in the cause of truth, and were as lights to the inhabitants of the land. They were concerned in their daily walk, to adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour; and by their faithfulness, they were instrumental to the gathering of others to the enjoyment of the substantial realities of religion. The blessing of the Lord was upon this portion of his people, and the heavenly dew evidently rested upon them. Under the constraining influences of divine love and life, the mouths of several were opened to declare of the riches of the heavenly kingdom, and of the peace and joy which was to be found within the safe enclosure of the fold of Christ.

The churches in the province of New York had been abundantly watered by servants and hand-maidens from other lands, and in the divine economy, it pleased the Great Head of the Church, to call some of his devoted ones of this part to travel in

* Journal of John Taylor. Preface.

other countries in his holy cause. About the year 1664, Mary Wright of Oyster Bay, proceeded on a gospel mission to New England, and again in 1677. She also visited most of the other colonies of North America. Her sister, Hannah Wright, when only fourteen years of age, visited Boston to warn the persecutors of that place, "in the name of the Lord," to cease from their wicked work. She entered one of the courts, and, it is said, the authorities were dumb with astonishment at the "dread and power of the Lord," that attended her on the occasion.* In 1680, Lydia Wright, another Friend of Oyster Bay, also travelled to the neighbouring colonies, in the work of the gospel. John Bowne of Flushing, and Elizabeth Bowne, his wife, who were both called to the work of the ministry not only visited the colonies of America, but, about the year 1675, extended their labours to Great Britain.

About the year 1682, meetings for worship appear to have been settled on the mainland at New York, and Westchester, and on Long Island, at Oyster Bay, Flushing, Gravesend, Jamaica, and also on Shelter Island. How many Monthly Meetings had been established, it does not appear. In an epistle addressed by the Half-Yearly Meeting to the Yearly Meeting of London about this period, meetings for worship and discipline are thus alluded to: "First, as touching our worship; we keep our meetings according to the wholesome order and institution of Friends, to wit, Weekly, Monthly, Quarterly, and Half-Yearly Meetings, both men and women's; the same meetings we enjoy in great peace, and [they are,] many times attended with an extraordinary heavenly sense of the holy power and presence of God, to our great joy and comfort; and are, thereby, many times occasioned to render living praises and thanksgiving unto the Lord."

It has already been mentioned, that Friends of Long Island, had been tried by some who had fallen from their first love, and who, in a spirit of opposition, had, at times, disturbed the meetings of Friends. These troubles, however, gradually disappeared: "through patience and quietness," continues the epistle

* New England Judged, p. 461.

referred to, "we have overcome in and through the Lamb; and we of a truth have found, that the Lord takes care of his people, and makes them ashamed who grieve his heritage. So that our testimonies go forth without any hinderance, and return not unto us wholly empty again, but have their fruitful workings upon both Dutch and English nations; in the sense of which, our hearts rejoice in the Lord, for that his holy light of life breaketh through darkness as the dawning of the day, to the redemption and salvation of the poor creature, and to the praise, honour, and glory of his holy name."*

* MS. Epistle.

CHAPTER XIX.

Elizabeth Harris visits Virginia—Letter from Robert Clarkson, an influential colonist—Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston's travels in the province—Letter of Josiah Cole to Margaret Fell—The intolerance of the legislature of Virginia towards Friends—The gospel labours and sufferings of George Wilson—He dies in the dungeon of James's Town—Some particulars of his life—The sufferings of William Coale—William Robinson, Christopher Holder and Robert Hodgson proceed to the province—Josiah Cole goes on a second visit to Virginia—George Rofe's services in the provinces—His letter to Steven Crisp—The religious labours of Elizabeth Hooton, Joane Brocksoppe, Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, Jane Millard, Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose—The schism produced by John Perrot—John Burnyeat visits Virginia in 1666 and again in 1672—The labours and travels of William Edmundson, George Fox and others in the colony—Epistle from Friends of Virginia to Bristol Monthly Meeting, 1673—George Fox sends to Virginia copies of the works of Edward Burrough—William Edmundson's second visit to the province—The travels of John Boweter—Brief memoirs of Josiah Cole and George Rofe.

THE colony of Virginia, was another district in the new world, to which the attention of the Society of Friends, soon after its rise, was directed. At a very early date, several of its ministers were attracted in gospel love to this plantation, among whom was Elizabeth Harris of London, who appears to have been the first who visited that country. No account of the precise date of her embarkation for Virginia has been preserved, but it is evident that it took place as early as the year 1656. Her religious labours were blessed to many in that province, who were sincere seekers after heavenly riches, and she was instrumental in convincing many, of the primitive and spiritual views of the christian religion professed by Friends.

Elizabeth Harris returned from Virginia in the Fifth Month, 1657, but, solicitous for the welfare of her converts in that land,

she endeavoured to strengthen and encourage them by epistolary exhortations, and by supplying them with books illustrative of our religious principles. One item in the national stock accounts for 1657, is, "For books to Virginia £2. 5s."*

Among those in Virginia who were convinced by the ministry of Elizabeth Harris, was Robert Clarkson, an influential settler, who resided at Severne, and who is spoken of by Thomas Hart of London, in a letter to George Taylor, of Kendal, as being, he supposed, the "governor of that part." Robert Clarkson took much interest in the prosperity of the little community of Friends in that colony, and a letter addressed by him to Elizabeth Harris, in 1657, contains some particulars of its state, from which we give the following :—

"FROM ROBERT CLARKSON TO ELIZABETH HARRIS.

"ELIZABETH HARRIS, DEAR HEART,—I salute thee in the tender love of the Father, which moved thee towards us, and do own thee to have been a minister, by the good will of God, to bear outward testimony, to the inward word of truth in me and others ; even as many as the Lord in tender love and mercy, did give an ear to hear. Praises be to his name for ever. Of which word of life, God hath made my wife partaker with me, and hath established our hearts in his fear, and likewise Ann Dorsey in a more large

* The following letter, addressed by Gerard Roberts of London, to George Fox, refers to the return of Elizabeth Harris from Virginia, and of her services there :—

"Dear G. F.—These enclosed papers I received from John Stubbs, who is now in Kent : my dear love is to thee. I could not but write these few lines to thee to acquaint thee that the Friend who went to Virginia is returned in a pretty condition ; and there she was gladly received by many who met together. The governor is convinced. Our meetings here are pretty quiet. Dear E. Burrough is not very well : his service is and hath been very great of late. Glad should I be to see thee this way. John Perrot is gone to Turkey. Friends to New England went two months since, who may be there by this time.

"Thy dear friend,

GER. ROBERTS."

"*London, 9th of Fifth Month, 1657.*"

measure ; her husband I hope abideth faithful ; likewise John Baldwin and Henry Caplin ;—Charles Balye, the young man who was with us at our parting, abides convinced, and several others in those parts where he dwells. Elizabeth Beaseley abides as she was when thou wast here. Thomas Cole and William Cole have both made open confession of the truth ; likewise Henry Woolchurch ; and many others suffer with us the reproachful name. William Fuller abides unmoved : I know not but that William Durand doth the like ; he frequents our meetings but seldom ; indeed we have but a small company. Nicholas Wayte abides convinced. Thus I have been moved to write thee word, briefly concerning the work of the Lord amongst us, both in myself and others, since thy departure from hence, as the Lord hath given me to discern it. Though absent in body, yet being kept present in that love which did first move in thee towards us ; I say, being kept abiding in that, we may rejoice together ; there being joy in heaven at the conversion of one sinner ; and truly in the remembrance of it, I have been filled with refreshment and joy unspeakable. Glory be to his name, who is the living fountain which fills all that abide in Him.

“ The two messengers thou spoke of in thy letters, are not yet come to this place ; we heard of two come to Virginia in the fore part of the winter, but we heard that they were soon put in prison, and not suffered to pass ; we heard further that they desired liberty to pass to this place, but it was denied them, whereupon one of them answered, that though they might not be suffered, yet he must come another time. We have heard that they are to be kept in prison till the ship that brought them be ready to depart the country again, and then to be sent out of the country. We have disposed of the most part of the books which were sent, so that all parts are furnished, and every one that desire it, may have benefit by them ; at Herring Creek, Roade River, South River, all about Severen, the Brand Neck, and thereabout, the seven mountains, and Kent ; all these parts are so furnished that every one may have also of them. Some we have yet to dispose of ; as the Lord gives opportunity we shall give them forth to those that desire them.

"With my dear love I salute thy husband and the rest of Friends [at London], and rest with thee, and the rest of the gathered ones in the Eternal Word, which abideth for ever. Farewell.

"ROBERT CLARKSON."

"*From Severn, the 14th of the Eleventh Month, 1657.*

"*This is in Virginia.*"

About the time that Elizabeth Harris embarked for the shores of Virginia, Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, who both resided in Gloucestershire, also had an impression of religious duty to visit that land. They appear to have sailed from Bristol, and reached Virginia towards the close of 1657, and they are, without doubt, the "two messengers" referred to in Robert Clarkson's letter. Their religious labours were continued in this province until the Sixth Month, 1658, when they proceeded on their memorable visit to the Indians, and travelled through the forests of the interior, to New England.*

* The following letter, in reference to this religious prospect, was addressed by Josiah Cole to Margaret Fell some months previous to his embarkation. It is without date, but endorsed by George Fox, "From Josiah Cole to M. F., 1656."

"FROM JOSIAH COLE TO MARGARET FELL.

"Dear heart, when I was with thee I saw little of my going to Virginia with Thomas Thurston; but since, I have been made sensible of the groanings of the oppressed seed in that place; unto which my soul's love dearly reacheth, and I am much pressed in spirit to go there, and to pass through the Indian's country amongst them, and to go into New England: and it is also upon my dear brother Thomas Thurston to go through with me. Dear, let thy prayers be, that in unity and love we may be preserved and kept together faithful to the Lord, in his power and wisdom to stand continually; that wheresoever the Lord calls us, we may have a good savour unto God in all his servants which shall come after us, which is the desire and breathings of my soul; that the Lord alone may be honoured and glorified, who is worthy.



Although Josiah Cole makes no mention of his being imprisoned in Virginia, yet it is evident by the reference which Robert Clarkson makes to the imprisonment of the two strangers, that the rulers of this province, like those of New England and New York, were disposed to exert their power to prevent the principles of Friends from spreading in their territory, and in 1658 they passed a law for the banishment of Friends, and making it an act of felony, should they venture to return.*

Thomas Thurston, soon after he had reached Rhode Island, returned to Virginia, where he was again imprisoned. In a letter which Josiah Cole sent to Margaret Fell, about this period, the circumstance is thus alluded to:—"As concerning my dear brother Thomas Thurston, when I parted from him at Rhode Island he was very well; and since, I hear, he is returned to Virginia, where he has been imprisoned, but is now at liberty again, and the governor of that place hath promised that he shall have his liberty in the country; where there is like to be a great gathering, and the living power of the Lord goes along with him."†

The colony of Virginia having been founded by rigid Episcopals, they insisted that their doctrines should be the only ones recognised in its jurisdiction, and in 1643, when a considerable number of Puritans in New England, were making preparations to settle on the inviting lands of the province, they passed a law that no minister should preach or teach but in conformity to the English church.‡ Under the commonwealth, however, the cords of religious bigotry were loosened, and but for the law passed in 1658, for the banishment of Friends, religious freedom would, at that period, have been universal in Virginia. On the restoration of the monarchy, a political revolution followed, opposed to the principles of popular liberty, and the former exclusive policy was revived. One of the first acts of the royalist assembly of Virginia, in 1661, was the disfranchisement of "Major John Bond," a magistrate, for "factious and

* Bancroft's United States. † Manuscript Letters of Early Friends.

‡ Act 64, Hening, i. p. 277.

schismatical demeanours ;'* and though there was not a minister in more than one parish in five, every settler was, nevertheless, required to contribute to the maintenance of the English church, and, following the example of the rulers at home, the laws made against Papists in the reign of Elizabeth, were directed with great severity against Friends ; a monthly fine of twenty-pounds was imposed upon them for absence from church, and their own meetings were forbidden under heavy penalties.

These exhibitions of Episcopalian intolerance in Virginia, were identical with the outburst of persecution towards Friends in England, and under the new enactments, large numbers of Friends were arraigned as nonconformists. On one of these occasions, one of the sufferers, after pleading for "tender consciences," informed the authorities that he and his friends felt bound to "obey the law of God, however they might suffer." But the hearts of his judges were untouched by his appeal, and the answer he received was, that with them there was "no toleration for wicked consciences."†

It was during this period of persecution that George Wilson of Cumberland went on a gospel mission to Virginia, and, as a victim to the reigning intolerance, he was soon incarcerated in the dungeon at James's Town. The circumstances of his case evinced great barbarity on the part of his persecutors. The place of his imprisonment was an extremely loathsome one, without light and without ventilation. Here, after being cruelly scourged and heavily ironed, for a long period, George Wilson had to feel the heartlessness of a persecuting and dominant hierarchy ; until at last his flesh actually rotted from his bones,‡ and within the cold damp walls of the miserable dungeon of James's Town, he laid down his life a faithful martyr for the testimony of Jesus.§

Four Friends had been publicly executed in New England, for nonconformity to Puritan opinions, and the cruelty exhibited towards George Wilson, for simply dissenting from Episcopacy,

* Hening, ii. p. 39. † Richmond Records, No. 2, in Bancroft.

‡ New England Judged, p. 351.

§ Testimony concerning W. Coale, printed 1682.

was of nearly equal atrocity. The American wilderness had been sought as a refuge by men of almost every shade of religious opinion, but, excepting the colony of Rhode Island, and Nathaniel Silvester's little domain of Shelter Island, the new world at this period, presented nothing inviting to the persecuted Quaker. The Puritans in New England, the Episcopalians in Virginia, the Papists of Maryland, and the Calvinistic authorities of New Amsterdam, whilst differing with and persecuting each other joined in a common effort to crush this rising and harmless people.

Respecting the life of George Wilson, but few particulars have been met with. His home, it appears, was in Cumberland, and as early as 1657 he suffered imprisonment in that county "for reproving a priest."* When he left his native land for the shores of the new world it is not mentioned, but in 1661 we find him a sufferer in New England for the truth. In this year he was imprisoned at Boston, and, preparatory to banishment, he was subjected to the torture of the lash in three towns of Massachusetts; soon after which he proceeded on a gospel mission to Virginia. The patience and resignation with which he bore his aggravated sufferings in this province, and his faithfulness unto death, form another striking instance of the inflexible adherence to conscientious conviction, which so remarkably characterised our early Friends. Living near Him who is the fountain and fulness of love, his enemies also became the objects of his solicitude; and whilst lingering in the wretched dungeon of James's Town, his heart was lifted up in prayer for his persecutors. "For all their cruelty," he writes, "I can truly say, Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."† During his imprisonment in Virginia, he gave forth, it is said, "many precious writings," which were, after his death, forwarded to Friends in England.

William Coale of Maryland, was another who experienced the cruelty of Episcopalian bigotry in Virginia. He was a fellow-

* Besse, vol. i. p. 128.

† Ibid, ii. p. 384.

prisoner with George Wilson in James's Town, and he never entirely recovered the cruelties he endured during this imprisonment. His visit to Friends in this part was blessed; "some were turned to the Lord through his ministry, and many were established in the truth."*

The rulers of Virginia pursuing their restrictive policy, imposed, in 1662, heavy fines on those, who, to use their own language, were "so filled with the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions, as to refuse to have their children baptised."† Ship-masters were also forbidden, on pain of banishment, to receive nonconformists as passengers, and John Porter, one of the colonial representatives, who became a Friend, was expelled the assembly in 1663, "because he was well-affected to the Quakers."‡

Towards the close of 1658, the feet of other gospel messengers were directed towards Virginia; these were, William Robinson, Christopher Holder, and Robert Hodgson, three of those who crossed the Atlantic in the "Woodhouse." Of their gospel labours in this province we have but little information, but by some remarks in a letter from William Robinson, it appears that their ministry was blessed to not a few. "There are many people convinced," he says, "and some that are brought into the sense and feeling of truth in several places."§ In the course of the following year it seems probable that Humphrey Norton also visited this province.

The religious welfare of Friends in Virginia, was a subject in which few felt a deeper solicitude than Josiah Cole, and during his second visit to the western world in 1660, he was again drawn to visit them. Writing to George Fox from Barbadoes in the following year, he says, "I left Friends in Virginia generally very well, and fresh in the truth; of my departure from hence I know not at present, but I believe it will be to Virginia again."||

During the year 1661, George Rofe, in the course of his travels

* *Piety Promoted*, Part i. † *Hening*, ii. p. 166. ‡ *Ibid*, ii. p. 198
§ *W. Robinson's Letter*, 1659. || *Swarthmore MSS.*

in America, also visited Virginia. He has left us no very circumstantial account of his services in this land; but a letter addressed by him to his intimate friend Stephen Crisp, briefly adverting to them, is worthy of insertion.

FROM GEORGE ROFE TO STEPHEN CRISP.

Barbadoes, 15th of Ninth Month, 1661.

"DEAR S. C.—My life salutes thee in that which is pure and eternal; wherein the Lord hath prospered my soul according to my desire, and blessed me and his work in my hands, and hath made me an instrument of good to many through these countries; to the gathering many into the knowledge of the truth, and the settling of many in a good sense of the life and power of the Lord; whereby they bless the Lord for his visitation, knowing it is life unto them, and virtue to their souls, who believe and obey it; though it brings anguish upon the souls of all who do not believe unto obedience; so that the gospel is a savour of life unto life, and a savour of death unto death.

"But to mention passages at large I cannot now; but this thou mayst understand, that the truth prevaieth through the most of all these parts, and many settled meetings there are in Maryland, and Virginia, and New England, and the islands thereabouts; and in the island of Bermuda; through all which places I have travelled in the power of the Spirit, and in the great dominion of the truth, having a great and weighty service for the Lord; in which I praise Him, he hath prospered me in all things to this day.

"I remain, thy dear brother,"



In the year 1661, Elizabeth Hooton and Joan Brocksoppe also visited this colony. They came to it direct from England, and at a subsequent date, on their expulsion from Massachusetts, returned to it; but no particulars of their services in this colony have been met with. The next gospel labourers who appear to have

visited Virginia, were Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, and Jane Millard ; this was about the latter end of 1662. In reference to the visit of these Friends, it is said that "they had many hard travels and sufferings in the service of the Lord."* In the following year Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose also visited this colony. How long they were occupied in gospel labours there it does not appear ; their visit, however, was very opportune in checking the progress of the schism occasioned by John Perrot, who had recently arrived in that part. The following letter, addressed by these dedicated women to George Fox, contains some particulars of their services in Virginia.

*The Cliffs in Maryland,
the 18th of the Eleventh Month, 1663.*

"DEAR G. F.—The remembrance of thee, and the precious words which thou spoke unto us when we were with thee, remaineth with us a seal on our spirits. Dear George, we are well, and God is with us. We have been in Virginia, where we have had good service for the Lord. Our sufferings have been large amongst them. John Perrot is now amongst them ; many there are leavened with his unclean spirit. He has done much hurt, which has made our travels hard, and our labours sore ; for which we know he will have his reward, if he repent not. What we have borne and suffered concerning him, have been more and harder than all we have received from our enemies ; but the Lord was good, and was with us, and in his power kept us over him. We have not time to acquaint thee of much more. We are now about to set sail for Virginia again. We are not clear of New England ; if the Lord will, we may pass there in a little time, if he maketh way for us. Dear George, it is our desire, if it were the will of God, to go to England again as soon as we can see our way there, for we greatly desire to see thee and Friends again. Let thy prayers be to the Lord for us, that we may live unto him for ever.

" MARY TOMKINS.

" ALICE AMBROSE."

* New England Judged, p. 423.

Agreeably to the intimation contained in the foregoing letter, Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose returned to Virginia. In the course of their first visit to that colony, they appear to have suffered much from its Episcopalian rulers, but on this occasion the conduct of their persecutors was extremely barbarous. The lash was resorted to with great cruelty, each of the sufferers having been subjected to "thirty-two stripes" from a knotted and "nine-corded whip." Their goods were then seized, and in the Fourth Month, 1664, they were expelled the colony.*

In every age of the world, the church has been more or less subject to troubles arising from the unfaithful within its own borders, who, through unwatchfulness, have fallen from their first love, and become a prey to the snares of Satan. The early Christian church had painful experience of these things. Judas, though one of the chosen twelve, fell from his apostleship and sold his Lord. Hymenæus and Philetus departed from the truth, and became dangerous corrupters of the brethren. "Their word eat as a canker," and, it is recorded, "overthrew the faith of some."† Alexander the coppersmith was another painful instance. "He did me much evil," writes Paul, and "greatly withstood our words."‡ The Nicolaitan heresy was also another fruitful source of evil to the primitive church, and although its doctrines were so utterly at variance with the purity of the religion of Christ, there were, nevertheless, not a few of the early Christian converts, who embraced its sin-pleasing principles.§ If, then, in the purest age of the church, such afflictions were permitted to befall it, it ought, surely, to excite no surprise, that the followers of Him who was betrayed by Judas, should, in after times, have to experience similar dispensations from the wickedness of unregenerate man, and the malice of the unwearied adversary of the church.

The Society of Friends, arising as it did, in a time of peculiar excitement in reference to religious things, was remarkably preserved in harmony and love, and from the withering influence of

* New England Judged, p. 440.

† 2 Timothy iv. 14, 15.

‡ 2 Timothy i. 17, 18.

§ Revelations ii. 1-5.

jars and contentions. It was not, however, entirely free from troubles of the kind to which we have adverted. The schism produced by John Perrot, was a melancholy proof of this ; and which also extended itself to Friends in America.

The division occasioned by John Perrot commenced in 1661, and arose by his endeavouring to introduce among Friends what George Fox calls "the evil and uncomely practice of keeping on the hat in time of public prayer."* Perrot, whom Sewel describes as "a man of great natural parts,† united at a very early period with Friends ; and in 1660, travelled in the ministry to Rome, with a view, it is said, to convert the Pope.‡ Whilst at Rome, he bore a public testimony against the idolatrous usages of the Papists, but for which he was soon subjected to the terrors of the Inquisition. Notwithstanding the appearance of great sanctity which marked the character of John Perrot, it was the sense of some discerning Friends of that day, that he proceeded to Rome, more in his own will, than from a divine call. During his imprisonment in that city, he evinced no inconsiderable degree of spiritual pride ; and his addresses were written in a style so affected and fantastic, as induced the belief that he was of unsound mind, and the inquisitors accordingly selected Bedlam as the place of his incarceration.§

The imprisonment of Perrot at Rome was a very prolonged one ; and his sufferings there, together with the great outward sanctity which he manifested, brought him into much notoriety among Friends. His true character, however, soon began to show itself ; and, declaring that he was more enlightened than George Fox and his brethren, he maintained that the practice of uncovering the head in time of prayer, was a mere form, and one which ought to be testified against. To such a woeful extent had forms and ceremonies, altogether unauthorised by Scripture, crept into the professing churches of Christendom, that Friends, in bearing a testimony against these inventions, at once became a peculiarly distinguished people. Drawn off as our early Friends

* Journal of G. Fox, vol. i. p. 555.

† Life of Thomas Ellwood, p. 241.

‡ Sewel, p. 249.

§ Ibid, p. 242.

were, from the routine of lifeless observances, and participating so abundantly as they did in the true refreshment and consolations of the gospel without such outward means, it is not at all surprising that a readiness to listen to suggestions against forms of every kind should be a besetment ; and, unhappily, the notions of Perrot found an entrance.

There is no doubt but that Perrot was a man of much plausibility of manner, and of some eloquence. The number of Friends who were led away with his new notion was considerable, and caused no little anxiety to those faithful watchmen, who saw in it a snare of the enemy. Another extravagancy adopted by Perrot, was to let his beard grow ; a practice in which many of his followers joined. With a view to propagate his opinions, he proceeded to America and the West India islands, where, by his "show of greater spirituality,"* he was successful in gaining many adherents from among the newly-convinced ; and particularly in Virginia. Subsequently, Perrot also discouraged the attendance of meetings for worship, under the notion that this also was a mere form ; and so greatly were Friends of Virginia led astray by him, that most of them followed his pernicious example, and forsook their religious assemblies.

John Perrot resided for some time in Barbadoes, where a considerable number professed with us. On his arrival there, Friends, several of whom were in affluent circumstances, in the hope of reclaiming him, showed him much kindness, and contributed largely to his wants. "He was even loaded with the love and kindness of Friends," writes John Taylor, "in the hope that he would become a reformed man ; but," he continues, "he, like an unhappy and unworthy man, abused all the kindness of Friends, and the very mercies of God unto him."† He afterwards removed to Jamaica, and became clerk of the court on that island. Here, he manifested a degree of depravity which clearly evinced that he was out of the truth ; for he not only exhibited much haugh-

* Life of Ellwood, p. 243.

† John Taylor's "Loving and Friendly Invitation to all Sinners to Repent, with a Brief Account of John Perrot," printed 1683, p. 7.

tiness of manner, and pride in dress, but he fell also into gross sensuality. He afterwards practised as a lawyer in Jamaica, but died soon after, and so much in debt, that all his property was seized by his creditors.*

Though most of the influential Friends in England continued to bear a very decided testimony against the unsound notions of John Perrot, yet it was some years before "this strange fire," as Sewel calls it, was entirely extinguished. The manifest departure of the author of this schism, not only from a religious life, but from the paths of morality also, tended to open the eyes of his followers to their error, and prepared them for a restoration to their brethren. In the year 1666, at the express desire of George Fox, a meeting on this painful subject was held in London. It lasted several days, and was a memorable and solemn occasion.† "Those that had run out from the truth and clashed against Friends," observes George Fox, "were reached unto by the power of the Lord, which came wonderfully over them—and the Lord's everlasting power was over all."‡ "In the motion of life," writes Thomas Ellwood, "were the healing waters stirred, and many through the virtuous power thereof restored to soundness; and, indeed, not many lost."§

The effects of the unsound notions were sorrowfully apparent in Virginia. The Friends of this part, in their conscientious endeavours to follow their Lord, had borne much suffering, and under it had been bright examples of faithfulness. They were a tender-hearted people, who had received the truth in the love of it, and who were ready to embrace whatever might appear to make for the glory of God, or to advance that holy cause which had become dear to them. When, therefore, John Perrot came amongst them, and preached a seemingly higher degree of spirituality, many listened to his specious declarations, and, under the idea that his views were founded in truth, they adopted them. The enemy of their soul's peace appeared to them in the character

* J. Taylor's "Loving and Friendly Invitation, &c., p. 9.

† Life of Ellwood, p. 244.

‡ Journal of G. Fox, vol. ii., p. 86.

§ Life of Ellwood, p. 244.

of an angel of light ; they were dazzled by the luminous manifestation, and betrayed into his snares. One wrong step having been taken, others followed ; and, deviating little by little from the true path, they at last went so far astray as to become even careless in regard to religion, and " much one with the world in many things."* But it pleased Him who watcheth over his church, to look with an eye of tender regard on these his erring children, and by his servants to point out their delusions and their dangers. About the time that the meeting referred to was held in London, John Burnyeat, whom George Fox mentions as " a pillar in the house of God," arrived on a gospel mission in Virginia, and laboured in the love of Christ among his brethren ; especially among those who had been led aside by the unsound notions of Perrot. He had some difficulty in obtaining a meeting with them, but at last one was held, in which the gathering arm of the Great Shepherd was manifested. " The Lord's power," remarks John Burnyeat, " was with us, and amongst us ; several were revived and refreshed, and through the Lord's goodness, and his renewed visitations, raised up into a service of life, and in time came to see over the wiles of the enemy."†

During a second visit which, in 1671, John Burnyeat made to America, he again visited Virginia, accompanied by Daniel Gould of Rhode Island. Their services on this occasion are thus described by John Burnyeat : " I went down to Virginia to visit Friends there, and found a freshness amongst them ; and they were many of them restored, and grown up to a degree of their former zeal and tenderness ; and a great openness I found in the country, and I had several blessed meetings. I advised them to have a men's meeting, and so to meet together to settle things in good order amongst them, that they might be instrumental to the gathering of such as were cold and careless ; and so to the keeping of things in order, sweet, and well amongst them."‡

A few months after the visit of John Burnyeat and his companion, William Edmundson arrived in Virginia. His attention was also directed to the settlement of meetings for discipline in

* Journal of J. Burnyeat.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

these parts. After having had "several powerful meetings, I appointed," he says, "a men's meeting for the settling of them in the way of truth's discipline."* He then proceeded to Carolina; but on his return to Virginia, renewed his labours in establishing meetings for discipline. At a meeting specially convened for this object, he remarks that the Lord's power was with them, and that "Friends received truth's discipline in the love of it, as formerly they had received the doctrine of truth."† William Edmundson laboured in the cause of his Redeemer in several parts of Virginia, to the conviction of some, and the confirmation of others. At Green Springs, he was instrumental to the gathering of some who had been scattered, through the unfaithfulness of one who had been a minister among them. "These," he writes, "were much comforted, as sheep that had been astray, and returned again to the shepherd, Christ Jesus; so I left them tender and loving." His meetings were frequently attended by "persons of note" in that country; General Bennett, and Major-General Colonel Dewes were of this number. Colonel Dewes was one who sought after the substantial enjoyments of religion, and who rejoiced in the revival of those truths which Friends had to declare, and which he afterwards openly professed. "He was a brave, solid, wise man," observes William Edmundson, "and who received the truth and died in the same."‡

The next gospel labourers from Britain who visited Virginia were George Fox, Robert Widders, James Lancaster, and George Pattison. This was in the Ninth Month, 1672, and after George Fox had travelled through most of the colonies in the north. At Nancemum they had "a great meeting of Friends and others," at which Colonel Dewes, and several others of the civil and military authorities were present, and who, observes George Fox, "were much taken with the truth declared."§ Another meeting was held about four miles distant, and a third at William Parrett's, at Pagan Creek. The latter was so largely attended, that it was found needful to hold it in the open air. The powerful preach-

* Journal of W. Edmundson, p. 88. † Ibid, p. 90.

‡ Ibid, p. 93. § Journal of G. Fox, vol. ii. p. 171.

ing of George Fox and his companions, among the planters of Virginia, roused many of them to a serious consideration of their spiritual condition. The truths they had heard sank deep into their hearts, and to many "were as nails fastened in a sure place." "A great openness," remarks George Fox, "there was; the sound of truth spread abroad, and had a good savour in the hearts of the people."

After visiting Carolina, these indefatigable labourers in the work of the gospel returned to Virginia, where they were engaged for about three weeks," having many large and precious meetings." At one held at Crickatrough, George Fox says, "many considerable people" were present. On leaving Virginia, George Fox proceeded to the adjacent colony of Maryland, from whence he embarked for England, after having, as he remarks, "travelled through most parts of North America, and visited most of the plantations; having alarmed people of all sorts where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's salvation amongst them."*

The gospel labours of Burnyeat and Edmundson in America, and their exertions in settling meetings for discipline, largely benefited the rising Society in that land; but the labours of George Fox were, in no ordinary degree, blessed to the settlers in the western world. In almost every place where he came, numbers were convinced of the doctrines he preached; and in no part was this more strikingly apparent than in Virginia. It is stated that the number of Friends in this province was nearly doubled by his powerful ministrations; and among the newly-convinced were individuals both of influence and station.

At a very early period of the Society's history, George Fox was impressed with the advantages to be derived by mutual epistolary intercourse between Friends in England and their distant brethren; but up to this date, no correspondence had, it appears, taken place between London Yearly Meeting and the churches in other countries. On his return from America, he landed at Bristol, where a numerous body of Friends resided; and, as there were frequent opportunities at that place of sending

* Journal of G. Fox, vol. ii. p. 181.,

to Virginia and Maryland, he suggested an epistolary intercourse with Friends of those provinces. The recommendation was approved, and in a few months, Bristol Monthly Meeting forwarded an epistle to Friends of Virginia. The communication was cordially received ; and in a feeling of true Christian love and fellowship, they responded to the interest thus manifested towards them, and returned the following answer :—

FROM FRIENDS OF VIRGINIA, TO BRISTOL MONTHLY MEETING.

“ Dear friends, in the endless love of the Almighty, do we reach unto and kindly salute and embrace you. These are to let you understand, that we received your loving letters, and have had them read in our meetings, to the refreshment of ourselves and other Friends, in hearing and considering your declared love unto us, chiefly and above all things desiring of the Lord, that, by the operation of his power, we may grow up together with you, in the life and power of God ; to the praise of his great and glorious name, and to the establishment of our everlasting unity and fellowship, in the same life and power. The four books you sent by Lot Ricketts, by the ship *Comfort*, we have received, and have also disposed of them according to your order ; and we are also greatly refreshed, and glad to hear that truth prospers so well amongst you in England, than which nothing can be more welcome tidings unto us ; and we, also, in some measure, can give you the like intelligence. Everlasting praises be given to God. Since our dear friend George Fox’s departure hence, (whose coming amongst us, hath been very prosperous,) our meetings, which at that time were not large, are at this time, (as we suppose,) more than doubled ; and several of them, (we do believe,) are very true and savoury Friends ; and not only so, but (as we judge,) a large convincement is upon many who as yet stand off ; and some there are amongst us, as well as amongst you, that through their miscarriages and disobedience, do give advantage to the enemies to speak reproachfully of truth ; which at some times doth cause some dissettlement amongst us, and doth so at this present also, we being not many in number ; but

as the power of God hath in a large measure expelled all former slights of the enemy, and cleared up the understandings of Friends to a new gathering into his truth, so we trust, that by the same power, all things that are contrary to truth, and the prosperity thereof, shall be brought to nought ; and we do hope, that he that hath begun the work amongst us will carry it on in power, to the eternal praise of his name, and to the everlasting welfare of such as abide in it.

“ We kindly bid you farewell, and remain your friends and brethren.”

“ WILLIAM DENSON,
“ WILLIAM PARRATT,
“ THOMAS JORDAN.”

“ Nanseum, 25th of Fourth Month, 1674.”

A few months previous to the return of George Fox from America, the works of Edward Burrough, in one thick folio volume, had issued from the press. It was ten years since the death of this remarkable man had taken place, but his memory was still fresh in the remembrance of his friends, and many of his powerful addresses to them under suffering, and to the rulers of the nation who persecuted them, were revived in the volume in question. Like many others of our early Friends, Edward Burrough had a clear apprehension of the rights of conscience, and his views of civil and religious liberty on the one hand, and of the duty which, as christian citizens, we owe to the government under which we live, on the other, were set forth by him, on several occasions, in clear and powerful language. George Fox, ever alive to what might promote the cause of righteousness, was desirous that some of the rulers and influential persons he had met with in the course of his transatlantic journeyings, should peruse the works of his deceased friend. He was persuaded that the truth would be promoted by such a step, and, acting upon this conclusion, he sent a copy of the work to sixteen individuals of the class referred to. The care of forwarding them was entrusted to Friends of Bristol, who thus write to the parties in America to whom they were consigned. “ Our be-

loved George Fox, when at Bristol, was refreshed in the remembrance of the free-passage of the gospel in America, and of the many kindnesses shown to him there by some in authority, and with the remembrance of his love to them, doth send to each of them a large book, being the memorable works of a servant of the Lord, Edward Burrough; which, when come to your hands, we desire your care to convey unto each man one, whose names we here underwrite, being the persons he nominated to us.”*

A few years after William Edmundson returned from America, he proceeded on a second gospel mission to that land, and in 1676, again arrived in Virginia. His visit to the province at this period was peculiarly acceptable to Friends, who were placed in circumstances of considerable difficulty in consequence of a civil commotion which then raged in the colony. “Friends,” he

* MSS. of Bristol Monthly Meeting. The following is a list of the several parties to whom the book was to be presented, prepared evidently by George Fox himself.

Colonel Thomas Dews, at Nanseum.

Major-General Bennett.

Lieutenant-Colonel Waters, in Accomack.

Judge Stephens, at Anemessy.

Thomas Taylor, one of the Council, and Speaker of the Assembly.

The Judge at Wye River, to be left with Robert Harwoods.

The Judge of the Court and his wife, at Sassifrax River.

Justice Frisby.

Major-General Maleverate.

Deputy-Governor Gransuck, in Rhode Island.

Governor Winthrop, in New England.

The Governor of Delaware.

The Governor of New York.

Nicholas Easton, Governor of Rhode Island.

Dr. Winsor, and the Judge that liveth near him, in Chopthank, in Maryland.

One of the Council and his wife, that liveth near Margaret Holland, in Maryland.

The Judge that liveth near Henry Wilcox, in Maryland.

Let Thomas Turner deliver the books to the Judge and Justices on that side; he liveth at Seaverne.

Justice Jordan, near Accomack, in Potomac.

One Floyd, about Wye, in Maryland.

Justice Jonson and Coleman, at Anemessy.

The Governor of Carolina.

remarks, "stood neuter, and my being there was not vain on that account." The quarrel was one of a very exciting character. The revolutionary party, as they were considered, were urged on by real or supposed grievances, and a cry for popular liberty, with which the authorities, who were strongly attached to the aristocratic views of the old royalists, did not sympathize. The former, though including most of the colonists, were nevertheless held by the government at home, as rebels, and a force was despatched to suppress them. The affair ended in the restoration of the governor, who evinced his revenge on the subdued party; twenty-two of whom he had executed, and he would have proceeded further in his sanguinary course, had he not been stopped by a resolution of the assembly. Amidst these distractions, William Edmundson was favoured to pursue his gospel errand without obstruction, and held "many precious meetings" with his Friends.

About the year 1678, John Boweter visited Virginia. He appears to have travelled through most of the settled parts of the province; but no particulars of his religious engagements, have been preserved, further than the names of the places he visited.*

We shall conclude the present chapter by inserting a brief memorial of the lives of George Rofe and Josiah Cole.

* In a list of "The names of places and Friends in America, where John Boweter was received and had meetings and service for the Lord in the gospel of peace," the following in Virginia are mentioned :—

James River in Virginia.

James River at Chuckatuck Eliz. Outland.

Pagan Creek - - - Wm. Parretts, Wm. Bodilie.

Southward - - - Edward Perkins.

Nansemun - - - Matthew Atkinson.

Accomack.

Pongaleg by Accomack shore.

Pocomock Bay.

Annamesiah - - - Ambrose Dickson.

Moody Creek in Accomack - George Johnson.

Savidge Neck - - - Robert Harris.

Neaswatakes - - - George Brickhouse.

Ocahanack - - - Jonas Jackson.

Moody Creek - - - John Parsons.

Annamesiah - - - George Johnson and George Wilson.

GEORGE ROFE.

On the rise of the Society of Friends in the eastern parts of England, George Rofe was residing at Halstead in Essex, and was by trade a glazier. No particulars of his conviction have been handed down to us ; it must, however, have been at a very early date, as in 1655 we find him on a gospel mission in Kent.* During the same year, whilst travelling in Suffolk, he was imprisoned at Bury for being, as the mittimus expresses it, "a Quaker," and at the ensuing sessions, together with George Whitehead and John Harwood, he was indicted as a "common disturber of magistrates and ministers." George Fox the younger was present at the trial, and observing that the accusing parties were themselves the judges, he remonstrated with them on such injustice. But his Christian boldness offended the authorities, and he also was committed to prison. The place in which they were confined was a very miserable one, and for about seven months their only resting-place was on the damp earthen floor, and subsequently the gaoler, a cruel and heartless man, placed three of the sufferers in a small dungeon about twelve feet under ground. Considerable exertion was made for their release, and at last their case was laid before Cromwell and his council, "wherein," says Besse, "Mary Saunders, a waiting gentlewoman in the Protector's family, was very serviceable."† After an im-

* Besse, vol. i. p. 289.

† Mary Saunders at this time was a Friend, having been convinced by the ministry of Francis Howgill, on his visit to the Court in 1654, and it is interesting to notice that her acceptance of our religious views did not subject her to expulsion from the Protector's family. During George Fox's visit to London in 1656, he met with Cromwell at Hyde Park, when he remonstrated with him on the persecuting conduct of the authorities towards Friends. Cromwell, on his return to the palace, said to Mary Saunders with much meaning that he would tell her "some good news." Mary, whose attention was much excited by the remark, asked him what it was. Cromwell answered, "George Fox is come to town." "That," replied Mary, "was good news," and on the following day she hastened to his lodgings.

prisonment of more than a year, an order for their liberation was issued from Whitehall in the Eighth Month, 1656.*

In the year 1657, George Rofe was again subjected to imprisonment for his religion, and passed five months in one of the gaols of his own county, and in the Ninth Month of the same year, whilst travelling in Suffolk, he was placed in the stocks. Towards the close of 1657, his religious engagements were more extended, and he proceeded, in company with William Ames, to the Continent of Europe. At Creishiem, a village in the Palatinate of the Rhine, they were instrumental in the convincement of a little company, who, in after years, emigrated in a body to Pennsylvania, and settled at a place which they named Germantown. How long George Rofe was occupied in gospel labours on the continent is not ascertained, neither have we any further account of his religious engagements until near the close of 1659, when he proceeded on a visit to the West India islands and America. He was accompanied in the early part of this transatlantic visit by Richard Pinder of Westmoreland, who, in writing to George Fox, from Barbadoes, in the Sixth Month, 1660, remarks thus, "I have lately been at an island called Bermuda, where I left George Rofe. Great service," he adds, "is done in that place."† The success, indeed, that attended his ministry on this island greatly disturbed the priests, and at their instigation he was committed to prison.‡

Towards the latter end of 1660, he proceeded to North America, and for about one year laboured in the service of his Lord in most of the English colonies of that region, after which he returned to the West Indies. In the early part of 1663, he paid a second visit to North America, during which he was much engaged in New England, and on Long Island.

In addition to his labours in the ministry, George Rofe also endeavoured to promote the cause of his divine Master through the aid of the press, and from 1656, to 1663, several small pieces issued from his pen. The work of this dedicated Friend was now nearly accomplished. Soon after leaving Long Island, in

* Besse, vol. i. p. 663.

† Swarthmore MSS.

‡ Besse, vol. ii. p. 366.

1663, he was drowned during a storm in Chesapeake Bay. In a letter addressed to Stephen Crisp by William Caton, dated from Amsterdam, in the Fifth Month, 1664, the circumstance is thus referred to:—"I had lately a letter out of Maryland, with a book of dear George Rofe's, from a Friend there, who did absolutely confirm the truth of the report of dear George's being cast away in a little boat upon Maryland's river, in a storm."* The following remark respecting him occurs in an ancient American manuscript:—"And so having visited Friends in these parts, of whom he was well beloved and accepted, he lastly went to Maryland, and there finished his course and ended his life."

JOSIAH COLE.

Josiah Cole was convinced of the principles of our religious Society through the instrumentality of John Camm and John Audland, during their memorable visit to the city of Bristol in the year 1654. He was then about twenty-one years of age, of a highly respectable family, and resided at Winterbourne, near Bristol. Before his conviction, his mind had been much turned to the consideration of divine things, and he became deeply impressed with the emptiness and lifelessness of forms and ceremonies in religion. "I saw nothing of God in them," he observes, "for they were but as a shadow, vanity, and nothing—and in my heart I could not join with them. But how to come into the way of life I was still a stranger, until the Lord in his eternal power sent the ministers of the word of life, who were anointed of Him, and endued with power from on High, to preach the glad tidings of the Gospel, whose voice I rejoiced to hear, and whose testimony I gladly received; for they declared the way of life, that it was in the midst of the paths of judgment."† He subsequently passed through deep conflict of mind. "I saw," he says, "that my heart was polluted, and that there was no habitation for God, which caused me to mourn in desolation and to wander in solitary

* Swarthmore MSS.

† A Song of Judgment and Mercy, in his collected works, p. 132.

places, until I was ready to faint ; and I said in my heart, never man's sorrow was like my sorrow." In this time of trial he cried earnestly unto the Lord, and covenanted with Him. " If thou wilt indeed bring me through thy judgments, and grant me thy everlasting peace ; if thou wilt destroy the enemy of my soul, and give me rest from those that oppress me ; then will I teach sinners thy way, and transgressors shall be converted unto thee ; yea, I made many promises unto Him that I would give up my life unto his service, and that I would follow him whithersoever he would lead me."* Having in no ordinary degree experienced the baptizing and purifying power of Christ, he became an able and powerful minister of the Gospel ; " his declarations to the ungodly world," says William Penn, who knew him well, " were like an axe, a hammer, or a sword, sharp and piercing, being mostly attended with an eminent appearance of the dreadful power of the Lord ; but to the faithful and diligent, O the soft and pleasant streams of life immortal that have run through him to the refreshing of those of the Lord's heritage."† " In prayer and supplication," writes Croese, " he did it with so much effect, and with such a grace and mode of speech, though without affectation, that he infinitely surpassed many of his brethren."‡

Devotedness to the cause of truth and righteousness was a remarkable characteristic of our early Friends, but in no instance was it more strikingly exemplified than in the life and character of Josiah Cole. Almost from the time of his conviction to the time of his death, he laboured incessantly in the heavenly warfare. It has already been stated that he twice visited North America and the West India islands ; subsequently he also went on a Gospel mission to Holland and the Low Countries, whilst in England his religious labours were extended to nearly every county. On several occasions he was interrupted in his Gospel travels by imprisonments. As early as 1654 he was imprisoned in Bristol, and two years later at Weymouth. In 1660 he was

* A Song of Judgment and Mercy, p. 133.

† W. Penn's Testimony concerning Josiah Cole ; Works, p. 16.

‡ Croese Hist. of Friends, p. 52.

confined in the goals of Leicester and Cambridge. Under the provisions of the Conventicle Act, he was committed in 1664 to Newgate, and towards the close of the same year he was also imprisoned at Launceston, in Cornwall, and in the following year at Kendal, in Westmoreland. "For the sake of his blessed testimony," writes William Penn, "he baulked no danger, and counted nothing too dear for the name and service of the Lord."* Sewel, our historian, who knew him well, has left us this testimony respecting him:—"It was his life and joy to declare the Gospel, and to proclaim the word of God, for which he had an excellent ability; and when he spoke to the ungodly world, an awful gravity appeared in his countenance, and his words were like a hammer and a sharp sword. But though he was a son of thunder, yet his agreeable speech flowed from his mouth like a pleasant stream, to the consolation and comfort of pious souls. Oh! how pathetically have I heard him pray, when he, as transported and ravished, humbly beseeched God, that it might please him to reach to the hard-hearted, to support the godly, and to preserve them stedfast; nay, with what a charming and melodious voice did he sound forth the praises of the Most High in his public prayers! Though he went through many persecutions imprisonments, and other adversities, yet he was not afraid of danger, but was always valiant; and he continued in an unmarried state that so he might the more freely labour in the heavenly harvest; and many were converted by his ministry."†

The decease of this dedicated Friend took place in London, and his end was emphatically a triumphant one. "I have peace with the Lord; his majesty is with me, and his crown of life is upon me." These were nearly his last words. Among the few who were present at his close were George Fox and Stephen Crisp; and from their arms his spirit passed into the presence of Him, the promotion of whose cause among men had been his paramount delight. He had been a minister twelve years, during which he also published many religious treatises. He wrote zealously against Popery; and one of his longest pieces was

* W. Penn's Testimony.

† Sewel's History, p. 463.

entitled "The Mystery of the Deceit of the Church of Rome Revealed." The following is a copy of his burial register:—
"Josiah Cole, aged about thirty-five years, departed this life the 15th day of the Eleventh Month, 1668, at Mary Forster's, in John Street, having weakened and worn out his outward man in the work and service of the Lord in the ministry of the everlasting gospel, and was interred in the burying-ground in Chequer Alley." His death was a circumstance that was deeply felt by his brethren ; and it is recorded that more than a thousand of them attended his funeral.*

* Sewel's History, p. 465.

CHAPTER XX.

Maryland first visited by Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston—Imprisonment of Thomas Thurston—Friends persecuted by the authorities—The religious labours of William Robinson, Christopher Holder, and Robert Hodgson, in the colony—The sufferings of Friends for testifying against judicial swearing, and for refusing to bear arms—Josiah Cole arrives on a second gospel mission to Maryland—Letter of Josiah Cole to George Fox—He is banished from the colony—Gospel mission of George Rofe, Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, Jane Millard, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose—Sufferings of Friends continue—John Burnyeat's religious labours in Maryland—The gospel travels and services of George Fox, William Edmundson, Robert Widders, and others—Epistle from Bristol Monthly Meeting to Friends of Maryland, with a reply from the latter—William Edmundson's second visit to the province—Religious labours of John Boweter—proceedings of Friends with the colonial legislature on the subject of judicial swearing—State of the Society in Maryland in 1682—Epistle from their Half-Yearly Meeting.

THE next in the order of date among the colonies of the New world, where the Society of Friends arose, was that of Maryland. Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, whilst visiting the Indians of the interior in 1658, appear to have been the first who travelled in this part of America. Towards the close of this year, Thomas Thurston returned to the colony ; his object being now to labour in the gospel among the settlers. In Maryland, as in the other colonies of North America, there were piously-disposed individuals whose hearts were much prepared to appreciate those views of primitive Christianity which, in the convincing and tendering power of Christ, the gospel ministers of the Society of Friends preached to their fellow-men. When, therefore, Thomas Thurston came amongst the colonists of Maryland, many of them

were given to feel that "the living power of the Lord" attended his ministrations; and from them he met with a cordial welcome, and in several places little communities were soon gathered, who professed the doctrines he preached.

The prejudice which calumny and misrepresentation had raised against Friends in the mother country, had also found entrance into the unsectarian colony of Maryland; and when, on the arrival of Thomas Thurston, it became known that he was a minister of the new sect, the courts of the colony for the first time lent their aid to religious persecution, and he was arrested and sentenced to an imprisonment of "a year and a day."* The excitement which prevailed in Maryland on the first appearance of Friends in that province, was considerable; and the authorities, in their anxiety to prevent the introduction of views which they regarded as an evil of a grave character, imitating the example of the rulers of Massachusetts, imposed fines on any of the settlers who should "entertain Quakers," and four individuals were fined in the sum of £3. 15s. for evincing their hospitality to Thomas Thurston; whilst another was cruelly whipped "for not assisting the sheriff to apprehend him."†

In the early part of the year 1659, Maryland was visited by other gospel labourers of the new society, but no attempts appear to have been made for their arrest; these were William Robinson, Christopher Holder, and Robert Hodgson, and through the religious labours of these Friends, a considerable conviction took place.

For some years prior to the rise of Friends in Maryland, there had been great political strife and commotion among the colonists, arising from conflicting claims for the proprietary between Lord Baltimore, and a resolute man of the name of Clayborne. The pretensions of Clayborne resulted in a recourse to arms, in which his party was successful and obtained the power. In 1658, a compromise was effected, and the agent of Baltimore was allowed to rule under certain restrictions. In 1660, however, the colonists, influenced probably by the adoption at that period of an indepen-

* MS. Letter of W. Robinson, 1659.

† Besse's *Sufferings*, vol. ii. p. 380.

dent legislation in Virginia, followed the example, and also declared themselves independent. But this state of things was but of short duration, for, soon after the restoration of Charles II., the power of Baltimore was again established in Maryland. During the years 1658, and 1659, the period in which the Clay-bornites admitted the agent of Baltimore to rule, it was with the express stipulation that they should be allowed to retain their arms. Baltimore's representative, in order to strengthen the cause of his master, on the other hand organized a militia, a course which prominently developed the principles of the Society of Friends against all wars and fightings. The authorities of Maryland, finding that their orders for enrolling in this service were disobeyed by the settlers who had embraced our views, endeavoured to subdue their conscientious scruples by excessive fines and distrains. A list of thirty Friends who suffered on this account has been preserved, from whom property amounting in the aggregate to £172. 4s. 9d. was taken. Many Friends also suffered about the same time for conscientiously refusing to swear.*

* The following are recorded in *Bease's Sufferings* as having suffered about the year 1658.

FOR REFUSING TO BEAR ARMS.			£. s. d.		
William Fuller	}	8 15 6	Brought forward	.	75 0 6
Thomas Homewood			Hugh Drew	.	4 10 0
Richard Keene		6 15 0	William Davis	.	4 10 0
William Muffit		6 15 0	William Cole	.	16 0 0
John Knap		7 10 0	Robert Dunn	.	18 15 0
Michael Brooks		4 10 0	Francis Barnes	.	6 5 0
Edmund Hinchman		4 10 0	John Ellis	.	6 5 0
Henry Osborne		4 10 0	William Elliott	.	4 17 6
John Day		4 10 0	Edward Coppedge	.	5 7 0
John Baldwin		5 5 0	Henry Carline	.	5 13 6
Thomas Mears		5 0 0	John Walcott	.	5 5 0
Robert Clarkson		2 0 0	William Read	.	7 10 0
Henry Woolchurch		5 5 0	Ismael Wright	.	} 7 0 0
John Homewood		7 10 0	William Stockden	.	
Jonathan Neale		2 5 0	Guy White	.	
			John Holyday	.	5 6 3
Carried forward	.	75 0 6			£172 4 9

Soon after the restoration of Charles II. the persecution of Friends in Maryland, as in some other parts of the new world, was, for a time, suspended. It was during this time of religious freedom that Josiah Cole arrived on a second visit to this colony. His presence among the newly convinced was peculiarly helpful at that time, for, owing to some who had "run into words without life," and others who "judged rashly," the harmony of the new society had been interrupted. After labouring about two months among his brethren, he had the heartfelt consolation to witness a change for the better. "These things," he writes, "are well over, and life ariseth over it all."* Whilst Josiah Cole was pursuing his gospel mission in Maryland, he addressed the following to George Fox :—

FROM JOSIAH COLE TO GEORGE FOX.

*The Province of Maryland,
this 21st of Eleventh Month, 1660.*

DEAR GEORGE,—Whom my spirit loveth, and whom I honour in the Lord, and who, in the life of truth, art dear and precious to me, in which, according to my measure which I have received, do I dearly salute and embrace thee. Dear George, as concerning passages here, all is quiet as yet in relation to the truth, and meetings are precious ; and the Lord manifests his precious presence and love amongst us in our assemblies ; and persecution doth not yet appear in this province of Maryland, but the spirit

FOR REFUSING TO SWEAR.			£. s. d.		
	£.	s.	d.		
John Knap	3	10	0	Brought forward . .	38 0 0
Michael Brooks . . .	7	10	0	John Larkin . . .	15 0 0
William Stockley . .	3	15	0	Robert Harwood . .	11 0 0
Thomas Coale . . .	2	0	0	Thomas Underwood .	7 10 0
Thomas Mears . . .	8	5	0	Ralph Hawkins . .	10 5 0
Robert Clarkson . .	5	0	0	Ismael Wright . . .	2 5 0
Edmund Burton . . .	8	0	0		
					£84 0 0
Carried forward . .	38	0	0		
				Francis Billingsley, 590 lbs. of Tobacco.	

* MS. Letter of Josiah Cole, 1660.

thereof is chained down for a season, that the babes may renew their strength.—I have been amongst them about ten weeks, and have at present well nigh cleared myself in this province, and am upon passing down into Virginia to visit the remnant that is there, and to sound forth God's mighty day amongst the heathen ; and as way is made, I shall pass to Barbadoes, and from thence to New England. I remain thine in the truth,

Josiah Cole

Soon after the foregoing was written, religious intolerance was again manifested in Maryland, and Josiah Cole was banished from its jurisdiction. During the year 1661 George Rofe appears also to have visited this province ; but no particulars of his services there have been met with, excepting the brief but full expression that he “travelled in the power of the spirit, and in the great dominion of the truth.”* Towards the close of 1662, Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal and Jane Millard proceeded on religious service to Maryland ; and in the following year Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose, but of their religious engagements no account has been preserved.

During the year 1661, and the following year, several Friends in this colony had their principles against swearing and against bearing arms strongly tested. Three were imprisoned for several months, and others were heavily fined for adhering to their conscientious convictions respecting these things. Towards the close of 1662, no fewer than twenty-three Friends, who, in previous years had enrolled in the militia, but who now, in accordance with their altered views on the subject of war, declined to sanction such anti-christian proceedings, were each of them fined 500lbs. of tobacco for, as the warrant expresses it, “delinquency and breach of an Act, intituled ‘An Act for military discipline.’”† Reli-

* G. Rofe to Stephen Crisp, 1661.

† Besse's *Sufferings*, vol. ii. p. 381.

gious persecution, however, was but of short duration in this province, and for sixteen years from this date, no act of intolerance appears to have disgraced the colonial records of Maryland.

The European population of Maryland at this period was but small, not exceeding, it is estimated, 10,000. Unlike the Puritan colonies of the north, it possessed no towns, nor indeed any village of much importance; the settlers being scattered up and down in log houses of one story high on the banks of the rivers or among the forests. The absence of towns was considered an evil, and attempts were made to form them under the provisions of law, but this proved an entire failure.

The schism in the Society arising from the notions of John Perrot extended itself also to Maryland. Thomas Thurston, who had "run well for a season," and who had been instrumental in gathering many to the truth, unhappily imbibed the opinions of Perrot, and for a while "drew a party after him." In the Second Month, 1665, John Burnyeat arrived in the colony, where he spent the whole of the summer in religious labours among the settlers. "Large meetings we had," he observes, "and the Lord's power was with us, and Friends were greatly comforted, and several were convinced."* The Perrot division was a subject to which the attention of John Burnyeat was much directed, and it was with much sorrow that he saw Thomas Thurston upholding the erroneous sentiments which led to it. "Great was the exercise and travail," he says, "which was upon my spirit day and night, both upon the truth's account, which suffered by him, and also for the people who were betrayed by him to their hurt; but," he continues, "through much labour and travail in the Lord's wisdom and power, I and other faithful Friends of that province had to search things out, and to clear things to their understanding,—it pleased the Lord so to assist us, and bless our endeavours, that most of the people came to see through him, and in the love of God to be restored into the unity of truth again, to our great comfort, truth's honour, and their everlasting happiness."† Although John Burnyeat was favoured to be thus instrumental for the good of his brethren, he was not so as it regarded Thomas

* Journal of J. Burnyeat.

† Ibid.

Thurston. Like John Perrot this deluded individual proceeded from one wrong thing to another, until at last he had wandered far from the true sheepfold. "He was lost as to truth," writes John Burnyeat, "and became a vagabond and fugitive as to his spiritual condition, and little otherwise as to the outward."* What a teaching lesson do instances of this kind furnish of the frailty of man, and of the necessity there is for continued watchfulness and self-abasement. A departure from true lowliness of mind, and a self-confident spirit, are indubitable marks that our foundation is not laid in Him who is the Rock of ages.

For more than five years after this visit of John Burnyeat, no minister from England appears to have arrived in the province; in the Eighth Month, 1671, however, he again visited Maryland. He had previously been in New England, and was accompanied on this occasion by Daniel Gould, of Rhode Island. In the Second Month, 1672, after returning from the south, John Burnyeat appointed a meeting to be held at West River, in Maryland, for all the Friends in the province. His object in calling this meeting was, "that he might see them together before he departed," for the purpose, it appears, of establishing meetings for discipline among them.

At the date of the foregoing, George Fox, who had completed his religious service in the West Indies, was making his way to Maryland, together with James Lancaster, John Cartwright, William Edmundson, Robert Widders, and George Pattison. They had no knowledge of the meeting that John Burnyeat had appointed, but, observes George Fox, "it was so ordered by the good providence of God, that we landed just in time to reach it."† The gathering was a very large one. Friends from all parts of the province attended it, and it continued for four days. But the attendance was not confined to Friends; "many other people," says George Fox, "came, divers of whom were of considerable quality in the world's account; for there were amongst them five or six justices of the peace, a speaker of their assembly, one of the council, and divers others of note; who seemed well

* Journal of J. Burnyeat.

† Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p. 166.

satisfied with the meeting.”* “After the public meetings were ended,” he continues, “the men’s and women’s meetings began.” This General Meeting was an important occasion in the history of the Society in Maryland. A few years previous, George Fox, in order to settle meetings for discipline, had travelled through most parts of Great Britain and Ireland; and in addition to his public ministrations, an engagement for the same object attended him in the western world. There had been meetings of the Society in Maryland for about fourteen years, but no attempt to establish those for discipline had been made. The subject was, therefore, a new one to Friends of this province. The benefits to be derived from such meetings, were largely explained to them by George Fox, who, observes John Burnyeat, “did wonderfully open the service thereof unto them, and they with gladness of heart received advice in such necessary things as were opened unto them; and all were comforted and edified.”*

After this memorable meeting at West River, George Fox and his companions proceeded to a place called the Cliffs, where another general meeting was held, to which, besides Friends, large numbers of the colonists came, including both Puritans and Papists. Here also, as at West River, meetings for discipline were proposed and established. From the Cliffs some of the European Friends proceeded to other colonies, but George Fox, John Burnyeat, Robert Widders and George Pattison crossed the Chesapeake to the Eastern shore of Maryland. On the first day following they had a meeting in this district; “a very large and heavenly one it was,” remarks George Fox; “several persons of quality in that country were at it, two of whom were justices of the peace,—many received the truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed.”*

George Fox in the course of his transatlantic journeyings did not forget the aborigines. They also were the objects of his gospel love, and he held two meetings with those of the eastern shore. “God,” said he to them, “was raising up his tabernacle of

* Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p. 156.

† Journal of J. Burnyeat.

† Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p. 157.

witness in their wilderness country, and was setting up his standard and glorious ensign of righteousness." The untutored North American Indian listened to his powerful ministrations with deep attention, and "confessed" to the truths he declared, and "carried themselves very courteously and lovingly." So deeply, indeed, had they been impressed with what had been said, that they evinced a desire to hear more, and enquiring where the next meeting would be held, expressed their desire to attend it.

On leaving Maryland, George Fox proceeded inland through Delaware and the Jerseys to Long Island. Excepting a few places on the coast, this portion of North America was untenanted by Europeans, and but an inhospitable wild, the difficulties of traversing which, were very great. They left the eastern shore at the head of Tredhaven Creek, and it occupied them ten days to reach Middletown in East Jersey. "It was," remarks George Fox, "a tedious journey through the woods and wilderness, over bogs and great rivers." At nights, by a watch fire, they sometimes lodged in the woods; and at others in the wigwams of the friendly Indians. The country was so much of a wilderness that for a whole day together they travelled "without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place."

After George Fox had completed his religious engagements in New England and Long Island, he proceeded on a second visit to Maryland accompanied by Robert Widders, James Lancaster and George Pattison. His return was through the forest wilds of the Jerseys and Delaware. The journey occupied them nine days, and, as on the former occasion, they experienced many difficulties and dangers. In the course of this journey they passed through many Indian towns, and to the inhabitants of these humble dwellings, George Fox and his fellow-travellers were led to speak of the things of eternal life, and as he expresses it, to declare "the day of the Lord to them."

In the Seventh Month, 1672, these gospel labourers reached Miles river, on the Eastern shore, in the vicinity of which they had several meetings, and then proceeded to the Kentish shore, where two others were also held. Travelling about twenty miles further, they had another and a very memorable one, which was

attended by several hundreds of the colonists, among whom were four justices and the high sheriff of Delaware. "A blessed meeting," says George Fox, "this was, and of great service, both for convincing and establishing in the truth those that were convinced of it. Blessed be the Lord who causeth his blessed truth to spread." George Fox now returned to Tredhaven Creek, and from thence, on the third of the Eighth Month, to a general meeting on the Eastern shore, appointed specially for all the Friends of Maryland.

The gospel mission of George Fox in the New World was a very remarkable one. The settlers everywhere evinced an eagerness to listen to his declarations, and by the effect of his preaching large numbers were added to the Society. His presence among his fellow-professors in this land was hailed as a blessing of no ordinary kind, and the churches were greatly strengthened by his labours. That double honour should be paid to such an one can excite no surprise. But it was not from those of his own Society only that George Fox received a welcome in America. Everywhere, governors, magistrates, and the authorities, both civil and military, received him with cordiality, and paid him marked attention. When we reflect upon the position which George Fox occupied, we need not wonder that this should have been so. The Society of Friends, of which it was understood that he was the founder, though of less than thirty years' standing, and notwithstanding the violent persecution it encountered, had now become, both at home and abroad, a numerous and increasing body, and included in its ranks men both of wealth and station. Another circumstance which caused the settlers in America to frequent the meetings of George Fox, was the rarity of ministers of any sort among them; for, excepting in New England, there were at that period but few ecclesiastics in the land. None had yet settled in Carolina, and in Virginia they were so few that a bounty was offered to allure them; and scattered as the settlers were along the banks of the rivers and creeks, it was a rare thing for them to hear a sermon of any kind. When, therefore, it was known that George Fox, "the head of the Quakers in England," had come amongst them,

and was going to have a general meeting at Tredhaven Creek, the lonely settlers of both the Eastern and Western shore of Maryland, flocked from far and near to hear him. The following, penned by George Fox himself, gives us a graphic account of the meeting in question :—

“ This meeting held five days ; the first three we had meetings for public worship, to which people of all sorts came ; the other two were spent in the men’s and women’s meetings. To those public meetings came many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists ; amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country. There were so many, besides Friends, that it was thought there were sometimes a thousand people at one of those meetings. So that though they had not long before enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as large again as it was before, it could not contain the people. I went by boat every day four or five miles to the meeting, and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames. The people said ‘ there were never so many boats seen there together before.’* And one of the justices said ‘ he never saw so many people together in that country before.’ It was a very heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested, and Friends were sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced ; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all ; everlasting praises to his holy name for ever ! After the public meetings were over, the men’s and women’s meetings began, and were held the other two days ; for I had something to impart to them which concerned the glory of God, the order of the gospel, and the government of Christ Jesus. When these meetings were over, we took our leave of Friends in those parts, whom we left well established in the truth.”†

Leaving Tredhaven Creek, George Fox and his companions proceeded by way of Crane’s Island, Swan Island, and Kent

* The mode of travelling in these parts at that period was mostly in boats on the creeks and rivers, or on horseback through the forests.

† Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p. 168.

Island, to the other side of the "Great Bay." From thence they travelled about six miles to the house of a Friend who was a magistrate, where a meeting was held. On the following day, they had another meeting near the head of Hatton's Island; and on the succeeding one, at a place about three miles distant. The next was held at Severn, to which "divers chief magistrates and many other considerable people" came; "and a powerful, thundering testimony for the truth was borne." From this place he passed to the Western shore, and had a large meeting at William Coale's, "where," says George Fox, "the speaker of the Assembly" and several others "of quality" were present. The next meeting took place about seven miles off, and, two days later, another at the Cliffs, which was attended by "many of the magistrates and upper rank of people," and is mentioned as "a heavenly meeting." They next travelled to James Preston's, on the river Patuxent, where, remarks George Fox, "we had a meeting to take our leave of Friends, and a powerful meeting it was."

As stated in the preceding chapter, George Fox, on his return to England, encouraged his friends of Bristol to maintain a correspondence with their brethren in America; and, acting on the suggestion, in 1673, an epistle, from which the following is extracted, was addressed by Bristol Monthly Meeting to Friends of Maryland:—

EPISTLE FROM BRISTOL MONTHLY MEETING TO FRIENDS IN
MARYLAND.

"DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—Although our abiding be at so great a distance, and we never had opportunity to see one another, yet are you very near and dear unto us in the Spirit; in which we can and do embrace you as members of our body; and are comforted in you; and having heard of your obedience and faithfulness to the truth, by our beloved George Fox, and other Friends that came from you, we could not well forbear to write unto you, not only to manifest our unity

with you, and the inward joy and consolation we have in you, but also to exhort you all to continue in the faith, and to walk worthy of that honour which the Lord God hath given you, in all lowliness of mind, and meekness of spirit ; every one waiting to feel a very hearty and willing subjection in themselves, to all the manifestations and revelations of the Truth ; and that none professing the truth, do walk, or move, or act in their own wills, or after the imaginations and thoughts of their own hearts ; but that every one wait to feel that will subjected, by the operation of the heavenly power mightily working in them ; yea, that the cross of Christ be known more and more, and abode in and daily taken up, until the creaturely will, or will of the flesh, be crucified, mortified, and slain ; not obeyed, not fed or nourished ; and so all giving up in the holy will that sanctifieth, may be able truly to say, I came to do thy will, O God. And so self in all its desires and lusts, being destroyed and baptized into death, the Lord God of life and power will be more and more manifested, and, in the overflowings of his own life and power, exalted and magnified ; and before the glory of his appearance, all crowns will be cast down before Him who liveth, and will reign for evermore.

“ And now, dearly beloved friends, we give you to know that in this nation, the blessed truth which is pure, prospereth and spreadeth abundantly, and is of a good savour among men.—The meetings of Friends are very large and peaceful. Multitudes flock to hear the declaration of truth, and some come to abide in it.

“ Our beloved George Fox, after his arrival from you in this place, stayed in and about the city about two months or more, and afterwards went for London, in and about which place he still remains, enjoying a good measure of bodily health and strength, which we esteem a very great mercy. The good report he gives of Friends in your country enlargeth the hearts of Friends here to love and embrace you ; and therefore let not the tender mercies and visitations of the Lord easily be forgotten or shut out of your remembrance, and glad shall we be as your free-

dom is, to receive some lines from you, whereby we may understand of your welfare and the prosperity of the precious truth in your hearts, and through your country, in the love of which truth we remain

“ Your endeared friends and brethren,

“ THO. GOULDNEY.

“ THOMAS CALLOWHILL.

“ CHARLES HARFORD.

“ WILLIAM FORD.

“ JOHN LOVE.”

*“ From the Men's Meeting in Bristol,
for ordering the affairs of truth, the
24th day of Ninth Month, 1673.”*

The epistle from Bristol was refreshing to the Friends of Maryland ; and, feeling that they were indeed brethren, baptized by the one Spirit into one body, and of the same household of faith, they responded to the address in the following affectionate language :—

EPISTLE FROM MARYLAND TO BRISTOL MONTHLY MEETING.

“ DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—In the blessed truth and covenant of the light, life, and peace, do we dearly salute you, whose lines of dear and tender love are come safe to our hands. Though absent in body, yet present in spirit, we dearly and truly embrace you, and truly receive your good exhortations ; and in the footsteps of you our beloved companions and elder brethren in the blessed truth, who are followers of the Lord in the way of holiness, we truly desire to tread and walk, truly blessing the Lord in the secret of our hearts through his Spirit, for his great loving-kindness and tender mercy to us-ward, who hath highly favoured us, and made us partakers of his heavenly gift, which is eternal life, and given us a part amongst them that are sanctified.—We do not write these things in commendation of ourselves, but of the living God, whose blessed work is begun in our hearts and carried on by his blessed power, that God over

all may have the praise of his own work in us all, to whom be the glory of all, from us all for ever, amen. And that you, whom we dearly love, may more and more be comforted in us, and we in you, in the blessed truth, in which we truly and dearly salute you all, ye dear and faithful ones. And now, dearly beloved friends and brethren, we give you to understand that the enclosed paper of condemnation hath been of service amongst us ; and whereas you do very earnestly desire our watchfulness over any professing the truth that may come from your parts hither ; likewise, do we earnestly desire you to be very careful and watchful over any professing truth that may come from hence into your parts, that so as much as in us lieth, the worthy name of the Lord may not be dishonoured, nor his blessed truth and way of holiness reproached, to the grieving of any of his dear children. And now, dearly beloved, to acquaint you that the blessed truth of the Lord is more and more precious unto us, and the heavenly virtue of the same doth do us much good, blessed for ever be the Lord our God, whose mercy endures for ever, to all them that truly fear him. Much people there be in our country that comes to hear the truth declared, which in its eternal authority is over all, and many by it are convinced. But too many there be that doth not readily stoop to it, for that they come not to partake of the heavenly virtue of it. But blessed be the Lord God Almighty, for with the faithful and obedient it is not so. And now, dearly beloved brethren, we may not forget to make mention of our dearly beloved George Fox, with the rest of the servants of the Lord who accompanied him in the service of the blessed God in our country, whose labours, travels, and service, the Lord did exceedingly bless, to our great comfort, and consolation, and benefit, for which we then did and still do bless the Lord. Since their departure from us, we plainly understand their dear and tender love is toward us, which we feel the benefit of in our own hearts, and do return the salutation of our dear love in the blessed truth unto them all. And dearly beloved friends and brethren, glad shall we be, as you have opportunity and freedom, to receive some lines from you, whereby we may further understand of your welfare and the prosperity of the truth

in England, in which blessed truth we once more dearly salute you, and remain your endeared friends and brethren.

"Signed by the order and appointment of the meeting, by

" WILLIAM COALE.

" WILLIAM RICHARDS.

" JOHN GARY."

*"From the Men's General Meeting, at
West River, in Maryland, the 6th day
of the Fourth Month, 1674."*

"To the Men's Meeting of Friends in Bristol."

"DEAR FRIEND,—The eight books sent by our friend Thomas Hucker, we had opportunity at our meeting to send away by safe hands to be delivered as directed, and with each book a note to signify to each person from whom and per what account they were sent. The other eight came by our friend George Hawes, which we have taken care to convey as speedily as opportunity presents, and so we remain.

" W. C."

On the 12th of the Eighth Month, 1674, Bristol Monthly Meeting again addressed an epistle of encouragement "To the General Meeting of men Friends at West River, in Maryland."

About the year 1676, William Edmundson was again drawn to visit the colonies of America. His labours in Maryland, though not extended, were blessed to his brethren. He held meetings both on the Eastern and Western shores of the Chesapeake. In the following year, John Boweter also visited this province. Of his religious services, however, we have no account further than a list of the places where "he was received and had meetings."*

* The following are those mentioned for Maryland :—

Chopthanck	-	-	-	-	{ William Berry.
					{ Walter Dickson.

About the year 1677, the faithfulness of Friends in Maryland, against judicial swearing, was severely tested by the imposition of excessive fines. In 1678, one Friend was fined 500 lbs. of tobacco for not taking the oath of a constable, and another was mulct in the same amount for refusing the oath of a jurymen. The sufferings to which the Society in this plantation were exposed in this respect, obtained the notice of Friends in England, and, at the instance of the Meeting for Sufferings, William Penn had conferences with Lord Baltimore, the Proprietary, on the subject, in which he promised to adopt means to relieve his Quaker population from the grievance; a promise, however, which he failed to fulfil until nearly ten years after. Considerable exertions were also made by friends of Maryland to obtain a legal absolution from swearing, by the recognition of a simple affirmation. In 1681 they presented a statement of their case to Lord Baltimore and his council. "It hath been sufficiently known" they state, "that we have been a suffering people, both in our persons and estates, ever since the Lord was pleased first to raise us up to be a people, and particularly in the discharge of our consciences to God in refusing all oaths whatsoever, which command of Christ we dare not disobey; for which cause we are

Tuchahow	-	-	-	-	{ Meeting-house and Betty Cove's. John Pitta. Ralph Fishborns. Sarah Thomas.
Kent Island	-	-	-	-	
West Shore	-	-	-	-	
Rode River	-	-	-	-	{ Richard Snoden.
West River	-	-	-	-	Meetings.
Herring Creek	-	-	-	-	Meeting.
East Shore	-	-	-	-	Meeting.
Kent Island	-	-	-	-	Hoil Powels.
Little Chopthanck	-	-	-	-	William Stevens.
Miles River	-	-	-	-	Bryan Amaliell.
West River	-	-	-	-	Thomas Taylor.
South River	-	-	-	-	Thomas Linscomb's.
Herring Creek	-	-	-	-	Meetings.
The Cliffs	-	-	-	-	John Garie.
Patuxent	-	-	-	-	Benjamin Lawrence.

many ways laid open to our enemies, as a spoil both in our persons and estates. Nor are our sufferings like to terminate in our own persons, but also extend to the ruining of our wives and children."* After setting forth the impolicy of declining the civil services of Friends because they refused to swear, they add "We are made in many cases unserviceable to the Proprietary; for although we are a considerable member of this province, and in many respects might be serviceable by bearing divers offices, yet because we cannot take the formal oaths, we are therefore made almost as useless."

The address was well received by the Upper House of Assembly, which, desirous of promoting the objects of Friends, made the following record on the occasion:—

"Upon reading the paper delivered yesterday by William Berry and Richard Johns, this House do say, That if the rights and privileges of a freeborn Englishman, settled on him by Magna Charta, so often confirmed by subsequent Parliaments, can be preserved by yea and nay, in wills and testaments, and other occurrences, the Lower House may do well to prepare such a law, and then the Upper House will consider of it."

The Lower House was also decidedly favourable to Friends in this matter; many indeed of this representative assembly were members of the Society.† On receiving the minute, therefore, from the Upper House, they requested the two Friends who had presented the address, to prepare an answer to the question raised in reference to Magna Charta. This was readily undertaken, and a document on the subject prepared, entitled "Some reasons given to show, that this law desired in favour of tender consciences as to oaths, is not against Magna Charta, nor destructive to the ancient rights and privileges of Englishmen."‡ The "reasons" were satisfactory, and an Act was accordingly prepared and passed by the two Houses for the relief of Friends on this subject. An unexpected difficulty however now arose. For, it is said, "some particular reasons of state," Baltimore de-

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 383.

† MS. Letter of W. Richardson to Geo. Fox, Second Month, 1681.

‡ Besse, vol. ii. p. 384.

clined to sanction the measure, and it was not until the year 1688, that Friends of Maryland were relieved from the sufferings to which the anti-christian imposition of oaths subjected them.

The Society of Friends in Maryland, though less numerous than those professing with them in New England, and probably also than those in the province of New York, was, nevertheless, an increasing body. By their religious life and conversation, they had gained the esteem of the inhabitants at large, and on public occasions their meetings were numerous attended by them. William Richardson, of West River, a zealous and influential Friend, in a letter to George Fox in 1682, in speaking of their half-yearly meeting held in the spring of that year, says:—"We have had a very great meeting; for number of people, never more in Maryland, and very peaceable to hear the truth declared." Of the Society itself he thus speaks:—"Friends are in general well, and in love and unity one with another, and I may truly say I never knew them more, or so much concerned for the truth, in the good order of our men's and women's meetings for keeping all things sweet and clean amongst Friends than they now are. Blessed be the Lord for it."

Almost from the commencement of the discipline, a strong jealousy was entertained by some, that its institution involved an undue interference with individual freedom of thought and action. Those who objected to meetings for discipline were for the most part persons whose conduct was more or less inconsistent with the self-denying professions of Friends, and who, consequently, were averse to the adoption of measures which would subject them to censure or control. There were some of this class in Maryland, and these, at times, proved troublesome to the Society. It was in order to expose the fallacious reasoning of those who objected to church discipline that William Penn wrote his "Brief Examination of Liberty Spiritual" and Robert Barclay his "Anarchy of the Ranters," in which the order of the discipline established among Friends is vindicated with great clearness and ability.

But notwithstanding these things, the Society in Maryland was favoured to enjoy much harmony and love, and in their

epistle from the Half-yearly Meeting held in the early part of 1683, they could speak encouragingly of their state and condition. We close this chapter by the following, taken from the epistle referred to :—

AN EPISTLE FROM THE HALF-YEAR'S MEETING IN MARYLAND.

The 18th of Fourth Month, 1683.

“ DEAR GEORGE FOX,—Whom we dearly love and esteem in the blessed Truth and love of God, which is universal. Our Half-yearly Meeting in the Third Month last, having a sense of the care that is laid upon thee for the churches' welfare, did appoint us to give thee and Friends at London an account of the affairs of Truth in this province ; but we, finding the ships gone out of this province, so that sending is very difficult at this time, shall not enlarge as otherwise we might have done. So care may for the future be taken yearly from our Half-yearly Meeting in the Eighth Month, to give thee full account of Truth's concerns amongst us.

“ At present Truth prospers in this province, and Friends that abide in the Truth are strong and valiant for God and the honour of his Truth.

“ A heavenly time and great service we had at our Half-yearly men's Meeting in the Third Month last, which continued three days. The Lord crowned our meeting with his heavenly presence, which bound and chained down the enemy's power, which was felt to be great at that time, so that although he had made what strength he could, by his wicked, unruly instruments, to spoil, destroy, and devour, even in our assembly, the power of God they perceived to be amongst us in a mighty measure, so that shame and confusion covered their faces, and many young and tender Friends were thereby greatly strengthened, the Lord having evidently owned our proceedings ; for which we return glory and praise to God for ever. Amen. Here are many Friends of this province who find a concern laid upon them to visit the seed of God in Carolina, for we understand that the spoiler makes havoc of the flock there ; so here are many weighty Friends, intending

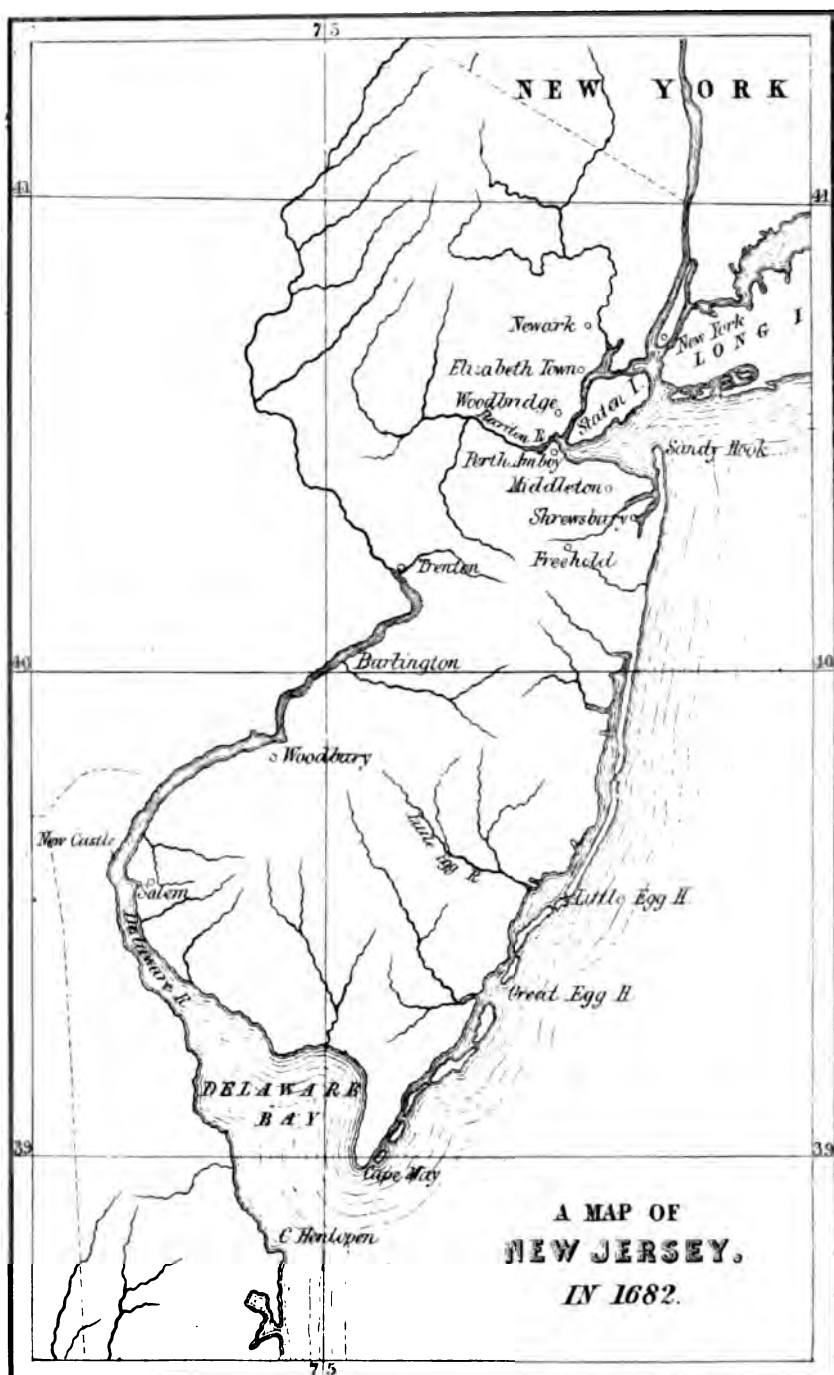
[to go] down there on that service, and may visit Virginia and Accomack, and then we may inform thee how things are on Truth's account in those places. Our very dear love to thy wife, to A. Parker, W. Gibson, and G. Whitehead, and all the faithful. We remain thy friends in our measure of that glorious unerring Truth which the Lord hath manifested to us.

" WM. RICHARDSON,

" WM. BERRY,

" RICHARD JOHNS,

" THOMAS TAYLOR."



CHAPTER XXI.

Early history of New Jersey—Berkley and Carteret its Proprietaries—America a refuge for the persecuted—Exertions of Friends in 1660 to found a colony in the New World—Berkley sells West New Jersey to Friends—Dispute between Fenwick and Billinge—The settlement at Salem—The charter for West New Jersey—Address of William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas to Friends—The settlement at Burlington—Large numbers of Friends emigrate to West New Jersey—Their early privations—Letter of a settler—The settlement of meetings for worship and discipline—Epistle to London Yearly Meeting—Satisfactory progress of the colony—Arrival of fresh emigrants—Friends purchase East New Jersey—Address of George Fox to the settlers.

THE territory of New Jersey previous to the year 1664 was included in the Dutch possessions of North America. At this date New Netherlands fell by conquest into the hands of the English, and the country between the Delaware and the Hudson was granted to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, and in honour of the latter, who was then governor of the island of Jersey, it was called New Jersey. The number of settlers at the period when it first became an English plantation was but few, as but little attempt to colonize this district had as yet been made. In 1663, some Puritans from New England had settled on the banks of the Raritan, and in the following year a few families of the Society of Friends are said to have sought refuge near the same spot.* In 1665, several settlements took place in East New Jersey, and the towns of Middleton and Shrewsbury were beginning to rise, and Elizabethtown, with four houses only, was the capital of the province. Puritans from New England continued to arrive, and, under their influence, in 1668 a colonial legislature was convened at Elizabethtown. The proprietaries in England

* Bancroft's United States.

had appointed Philip Carteret governor of New Jersey, and things went smoothly on until the awkward question of quit-rents was mooted. The payment of this demand was resisted by the settlers; angry disputes with the governor followed, and at last the colonists, claiming the right to legislate independently of the proprietaries, displaced the governor.

While the province was thus distracted, the English were at war with the Dutch, and a force having been sent by the latter to recover New Netherlands, and being successful, New Jersey in 1673 came a second time under Dutch control. But the change was of short duration; in a treaty between the two powers, New Netherlands, in 1674, was finally transferred to British dominion.

The successful colonization of New Jersey, like that of New England, was a result of the Reformation, but not arising from efforts of the Church of Rome to regain her lost power and influence in Christendom, so much as from the antichristian and unwise policy of Protestant England in enforcing conformity to the national church. It is a remarkable circumstance, that when Western Europe became convulsed with religious persecution, the North American continent was the asylum to which its victims almost instinctively fled for refuge; and it was thus that Puritans and Papists from England, exiled Covenanters from Scotland, and Huguenots from France, became inhabitants of the New World.

The Society of Friends soon after its rise suffered severely for the maintenance of views opposed to those of the ruling sects in England, but on the return of the Royalists to power the persecution towards them became most intense. During the hottest time of persecution, however, it was never contemplated by Friends to remove in a body to America in order to escape the cruelties of the mother country, but on the outbreak of persecution which ensued on the restoration of the monarchy, the idea of possessing a territory in the western world to which those of its members who desired it might flee for shelter, was seriously entertained by some of the most influential Friends of that day, and particularly by George Fox. To obtain land in North America for the founda-

tion of a colony was, however, no easy matter, for the whole coast from Maine to Florida was either colonized or claimed by parties for that purpose. The Society of Friends, therefore, in pursuance of this interesting object, had to turn its attention to a territory inland. Josiah Cole, who had travelled extensively as a gospel minister in America, and particularly among the Indians of the interior, on his second visit to that country in 1660, appears to have been commissioned by his brethren at home to treat with the Susquehanna Indians, whom he had visited about two years before, for the purchase of land. For this purpose he had interviews with them, but their being at that time involved in a deadly war with some neighbouring tribes, together with the absence of William Fuller, a Friend of considerable influence in Maryland, and who had, it appears, taken some steps on this subject, presented an insurmountable obstacle to any progress in the matter at that time.*

On the restoration of New Netherlands to the English, Berkley and Carteret were again acknowledged as the proprietaries of New Jersey. Berkley, who was now a very old man, and whose expectations of colonial wealth, in the prospect of disputes with the independent settlers for quit-rents, was not likely to be realised, came to the conclusion to sell his moiety of the territory. The opportunity was a favourable one for Friends, and in the Third

* The following extract from a letter written from Maryland by Josiah Cole to George Fox in the Eleventh Month, 1660, which is preserved among the Swarthmore MSS., refers to this interesting subject:—

“DEAR GEORGE,—As concerning Friends buying a piece of land of the Susquehanna Indians, I have spoken of it to them, and told them what thou said concerning it, but their answer was, that there is no land that is habitable or fit for situation beyond Baltimore's liberty till they come to or near the Susquehanna's fort, and besides William Fuller, who was the chief man amongst Friends with the Indians, by reason he was late governor amongst the English, he is withdrawn at present, for there are of them who are in present authority that seek his life with much greediness for some old matter that they had against him, and their enemy is stirred up afresh, by reason he had a hand in changing of the government the last year, when they took away the

Month, 1674, a few months after George Fox had returned from his gospel mission in America, Berkley conveyed the whole of his right and interest in New Jersey to John Fenwick and Edward Billinge for the sum of £1000. Fenwick and Billinge were both members of the Society; the former appears to have resided in Buckinghamshire, and the latter was a merchant of London; and there is good reason to believe that the property was acquired by them for the advantage of the Society at large.

In the transfer of New Jersey from Berkley, the conveyance was made to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Billinge and his assigns. Subsequently, a disagreement arose between the two Friends as to their respective interests in the purchase; but acting on the recognised views of the Society against "brother going to law with brother," they mutually agreed to submit their dispute to arbitration. The subject was an important one, and requiring, in its right disposition, the exercise of a sound judgment. William Penn then lived at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, not far from the residence of John Fenwick; and his talents and integrity pointed him out as a fit arbitrator of the question. He accepted the office, and, after considerable difficulty, finally awarded that one-tenth of the territory, with a con-

authority from Baltimore, which hath much stirred up their rage against him, so that without him there can little be done at present with the Indians; and besides, these Indians are at war with another nation of Indians, who are very numerous, and it is doubted by some that in a little space they will be so destroyed that they will not be a people.

"Thine in the Truth,



William Fuller, before he united with Friends, took an active part in the quarrel between Clayborne and Baltimore for the proprietary of Maryland, and in 1656 acted as governor under an appointment by Clayborne. He therefore became obnoxious to Baltimore and his party, who, on regaining power, would doubtless have taken his life, had he fallen into their hands.

siderable sum of money, should be given to Fenwick, and that the remainder of the province should be the property of Edward Billinge.*

* The nature or cause of the dispute between John Fenwick and Edward Billinge is unknown. The former, however, appears to have been litigious and troublesome in the business. Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 7001, are three letters of William Penn to John Fenwick, upon this subject: these throw some light on the transaction, which we subjoin:—

London, 20th of Eleventh Month, 1674.

“JOHN FENWICK,—The present difference betwixt thee and E. B. fills the hearts of Friends with grief, and a resolution to take it in two days into their consideration to make a public denial of the persons and accusation that offers violence to the award made, or that will not end it without bringing it upon the public stage. God the righteous judge will visit him that stands off. E. B. will refer it to me again. If thou wilt do the like, send me word; and as oppressed as I am with business, I will give an afternoon to-morrow or next day to determine, and so prevent the mischief that will certainly follow divulging it in Westminster Hall; let me know by the bearer thy mind. O, John, let truth and the honour of it in this day prevail: woe be to him that causeth offences! I am an impartial man.

“W. PENN.”

The foregoing letter has the following endorsement by Fenwick:—

“THE HEADS OF MY ANSWER TO W. P.

“I desire to perform the award, and not to infringe it, but to receive my money securely, and to reserve my two parts entirely. To have up all my writs, and my reputation repaired and vindicated. All which W. Penn promised he would see performed.

“If any other thing be proposed contrary to the award, it must not be yielded unto, for several reasons, especially it will immediately open a door for a suit in Chancery.”

Rickmansworth, 30th of Eleventh Month, 1674.

“J. F.—I am sorry for thy arrest. E. B. I stopt from any proceed; but for the Lord Berkley, it was not in my power. As to thy counsel, mine has told me that he was with him, and has stated it quite upon another footing, giving, as I perceive, a relation with all advantages for thee. Now, I must need complain of that proceeding. I took care to hide the offences on both hands, as to the original of the thing, because

It was not long ere a new difficulty arose. Edward Billinge became embarrassed in his circumstances, and was obliged to make a conveyance of his property in New Jersey for the benefit of his creditors ; and, desirous that the contemplated benefit to

it reflects on you both, and, which is worse, on the truth. Therefore, I undertook it that I might hide your shame, and serve the truth ; and let me tell thee, that it was an unworthy, secret piece of undermining of my conduct in the matter, to give any such accompt, which concerned the present award. I cannot enough express my resentment of this thing. I intend to be to-morrow night at London, and design to make one essay more ; if that will not do, I intend no further concern therein. And for the award, I say that it is broke in nothing, but that of the way of raising money ; and if thou wilt not acquiesce in that particular, rather than come before the world, I am heartily sorry. I wish thee true felicity which stands in the blessed truth ; and thy conformity to it.

“ Thy well-wishing friend,

“ W. PENN.”

London, 13th of Twelfth Month, 1674.

“ J. F.,—I have, upon serious consideration of the present difference (to end it with benefit to you both, and as much quiet as may be), thought my counsel's proposals very reasonable ; indeed, thy own desire : the eight parts added was not so pleasant to the other party that it should be now shrunk from by thee as injurious ; and when thou hast once a proposal reasonable, and given power to another to fix it. 'Tis not in thy power, nor a discreet, indeed, a civil thing, to alter or warp from it, and call it a being forced. John, I am sorry that a toy, a trifle, should thus rob men of time, quiet, and a more profitable employ. I have a good conscience in what I have done in this affair ; and if thou reposest confidence in me, and believest me to be a good and just man, as thou hast said, thou shouldst not be upon such nicety and uncertainty. Away with vain fancies, I entreat thee, and fall closely to thy business. Thy days spend on, and make the best of what thou hast : thy great grand-children may be in the other world, before what land thou hast allotted will be employed. My counsel, I will answer for it, shall do thee all right and service in the affair that becomes him, whom, I told thee at first, should draw it up as for myself. If this cannot scatter thy fears, thou art unhappy, and I am sorry.

“ Thy sincere friend,

“ WILL. PENN.”

the Society might not be lost through his embarrassments, he assigned his nine-tenths of the new territory to three of his fellow-members, viz., William Penn, Gawen Lawrie of London, and Nicholas Lucas of Hertford. The remaining tenth part being still held by John Fenwick.

Soon after Friends had become possessed of a territory in the New World, Fenwick, who was active in his endeavours to promote emigration, sold lands to those who had concluded to seek a home in the Quaker colony, an adventure in which he himself intended to embark. Fenwick, however, before he left England, obtained a sum of money from two individuals, John Eldridge and Edmund Warner, to whom he gave as security for its repayment, a lease on his portion of the province for 1000 years, with power for them to sell as much land as would repay the advances made. Notwithstanding the power which the lessees had thus acquired, Fenwick considered himself entitled to enter at once upon the territory, and to use it for his own particular benefit ; and, acting upon this conclusion, he set sail with a number of others, in the *Griffith*, from London, and in the Fourth Month, 1675, they landed on a pleasant fertile spot, on a creek of the Delaware, where a permanent settlement was made, to which they gave the name of Salem.* This was the first English ship which touched the shores of West Jersey. Fenwick, who claimed the authority of chief proprietor in the province, began to divide the land and to make grants to the several settlers, and also entered into treaty with the natives for the purchase of an extensive tract of country.

Whilst things were thus going forward, measures had been taken for a more general settlement of the province. William Penn and his co-assignees, in the exercise of their trust for the creditors of Edward Billinge, had disposed of considerable portions of the province ; several of the creditors, indeed, who were Friends,

* Among those who emigrated with Fenwick were Edmund Champness, his son-in-law ; Edward Wade, Samuel Wade, John Smith, Samuel Nicholson, Richard Guy, Richard Noble, Richard Hancock, John Pledger, Hipolite Lefever, and John Matlock, who are all said to be " masters of families."

accepted lands in liquidation of their claims ; and thus, in common with the assignees, became proprietors.*

In the right settlement of West New Jersey as a colony, it was necessary that a form of government should be adopted. Previous, however, to any decided steps being taken for this purpose, it was considered needful that the boundary line between East and West New Jersey, should be clearly defined, and an agreement was accordingly entered into between Sir George Carteret, the proprietor of East New Jersey of the one part, and William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas, and Edward Billinge, of the other part ; by which the line of division was settled to extend from Little Egg Harbour to a point on the Delaware in 41° of north latitude. After the boundary had been thus settled, Edward Billinge and his trustees re-conveyed the share that had belonged to Fenwick to Eldridge and Warner in fee, by which they were constituted proprietors.

The proceedings of Fenwick, in entering West Jersey and disposing of land as his own, after his conveyance to Eldridge and Warner, were regarded by the proprietaries with much dissatisfaction ; and with a view to assert their right to govern, and for conducting the affairs of the province until the form of government should be definitively settled, a provisional commission, dated Sixth Month, 1676, was given to Richard Hartshorne and Richard Guy, two Friends who resided in East Jersey, together with James Wasse, who was sent specially from England for the purpose.† The proprietaries, in a letter addressed to Richard Hartshorne at this period, refer to the principles which they intended to recognize in the future government of the colony.

* Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Peirson, Joseph Helmsley, George Hutchinson, and Mahlon Stacey, Friends of Yorkshire, who were all principal creditors of Edward Billinge, and to whom several other creditors made assignments of their debts, accepted as an equivalent for their aggregate debts of £3,500., ten of the ninetieth parts of West Jersey.

† Richard Hartshorne was a Friend of London, who emigrated to East Jersey in the year 1669, and settled at Middleton. He is described as a "considerable settler," and "of good reputation and public character." Richard Guy emigrated to West Jersey in company with John Fenwick.

"We have made concessions by ourselves," they say, "being such as Friends here and there (we question not) will approve of, having sent a copy of them by James Wasse. There we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people, that is to say, they to meet and choose one honest man for each proprietary, who hath subscribed to the concessions; all these men to meet as an assembly there, to make and repeal laws, to choose a governor, or a commissioner, and twelve assistants to execute the laws during their pleasure; so every man is capable to choose or be chosen. No man to be arrested, condemned, imprisoned, or molested in his estate or liberty, but by twelve men of the neighbourhood. No man to lie in prison for debt, but that his estate satisfy as far as it will go, and be set at liberty to work. No person to be called in question or molested for his conscience, or for worshipping according to his conscience; with many more things mentioned in the said concessions,"* "We hope," continues the letter, "West Jersey will soon be planted, it being in the minds of many Friends to prepare for their going against the spring." The place Fenwick had chosen for a town, was not, in the judgment of William Penn and co-proprietarys, the best for a "first settlement," and Richard Hartshorne was requested "to go over to Delaware side," and on "some creek or river, find out a fit place to take up for a town, and agree with the natives for a tract of land."†

The charter or fundamental laws of West New Jersey were settled and passed in the Third Month, 1676, under the designation of "Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and inhabitants of the province of West New Jersey, in America," and was signed by one hundred and sixty-two persons. It consisted of forty-four chapters, and was framed with much method, and throughout the principle of democratic equality is fully and unconditionally recognized, and a full toleration of individual sentiment in religion prominently upheld. "No men,

* The History of Nova-Cæsaria, or New Jersey, by Samuel Smith, p. 80.

† Ibid. p. 82.

or number of men upon earth, hath power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters," says chapter xvi. ; "therefore it is consented, agreed, and ordained, that no person or persons whatsoever, within the said province, at any time or times, hereafter, shall be any ways, upon any pretence whatsoever, called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, either in person, estate, or privilege, for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith or worship towards God, in matters of religion ; but that all and every such person and persons, may from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments, and the exercise of their consciences, in matters of religious worship throughout all the said province." In its civil arrangements, the members of the general assembly were to be chosen by the balloting box, and every man was eligible for election. The electors were empowered to give their representatives instructions, which, under hand and seal, they might be called upon to obey. The executive was to be vested in ten commissioners, to be appointed by the people ; and justices and constables were chosen directly by them. No man was to be imprisoned for debt ; courts were to be conducted without attorneys or counsellors. The aborigines were protected against encroachments ; the helpless orphan was to be educated by the state ; and "all and every person inhabiting the province, by the help of the Lord, and by these concessions and fundamentals, were to be free from oppression and slavery."*

For the information of Friends, a description of the province of West New Jersey was soon published, and many, invited by the prospects which were held out, made preparations for emigrating. William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas, anxious that none of their brethren should take a step of so much moment without very deliberate consideration, published the following cautionary address to their friends on the subject :—

"DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—In the pure love and precious fellowship of our Lord Jesus Christ, we very dearly salute you. Forasmuch as there was a paper printed several months

* Smith's History of New Jersey—Appendix, p. 521—539.

since, entitled *The Description of West New Jersey*, in the which our names were mentioned as trustees for one undivided moiety of the said province ; and because it is alleged that some, partly on this account, and others apprehending that the paper by the manner of its expression came from the body of Friends, as a religious society of people, and not from particulars, have through these mistakes weakly concluded that the said description in matter and form might be written, printed, and recommended on purpose to prompt and allure people to dis-settle and transplant themselves and families to the said province ; and lest any of them (as is feared by some) should go, out of a curious and unsettled mind, and others to shun the testimony of the blessed cross of Jesus, of which several weighty Friends have a godly jealousy upon their spirits ; lest an unwarrantable forwardness should act or hurry any beside or beyond the wisdom and counsel of the Lord, or the freedom of his light and spirit in their own hearts, and not upon good and weighty grounds ; it truly laid hard upon us to let Friends know how the matter stands, which we shall endeavour to do with all clearness and fidelity. [After setting forth the manner by which the province came into their hands, they thus proceed :]

“ The ninety parts remaining are exposed to sale, on behalf of the creditors of Edward Billinge. And forasmuch as several Friends are concerned as creditors, as well as others, and the disposal of so great a part of this country being in our hands ; we did in real tenderness and regard to Friends, and especially to the poor and necessitous, make Friends the first offer, that if any of them, though particularly those that, being low in the world, and under trials about a comfortable livelihood for themselves and families, should be desirous of dealing for any part or parcel thereof, that they might have the refusal.

“ This was the real and honest intent of our hearts, and not to prompt or allure any out of their places, either by the credit our names might have with our people throughout the nation, or by representing the thing otherwise than it is in itself.

“ As relating to liberty of conscience, we would not have any to think that it is promised or intended to maintain the liberty

of the exercise of religion by force and arms ; though we shall never consent to any the least violence on conscience ; yet it was never designed to encourage any to expect by force of arms to have liberty of conscience fenced against invaders thereof.

“ And be it known unto you all, in the name and fear of Almighty God, his glory and honour, power and wisdom, truth and kingdom, is dearer to us than all visible things ; and as our eye has been single, and our heart sincere to the living God, in this as in other things ; so we desire all whom it may concern, that all groundless jealousies may be judged down and watched against, and that all extremes may be avoided on all hands by the power of the Lord ; that nothing which hurts or grieves the holy life of truth in any that go or stay, may be adhered to ; nor any provocations given to break precious unity.

“ This am I, William Penn, moved of the Lord, to write unto you, lest any bring a temptation upon themselves or others ; and in offending the Lord, slay their own peace. Blessed are they that can see and behold Him their Leader, their Orderer, their Conductor and Preserver, in staying or going : whose is the earth and the fulness thereof, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. And as we formerly wrote, we cannot but repeat our request unto you, that in whomsoever a desire is to be concerned in this intended plantation, such would weigh the thing before the Lord, and not heavily or rashly conclude on any such remove ; and that they do not offer violence to the tender love of their near kindred and relations ; but soberly and conscientiously endeavour to obtain their good wills, the unity of Friends where they live ; that whether they go or stay, it may be of good savour before the Lord (and good people), from whom only can all heavenly and earthly blessings come.

“ This we thought good to write for the preventing of all misunderstandings, and to declare the real truth of the matter ; and so we commend you all to the Lord, who is the watchman of his Israel. We are your friends and brethren,

“ WILLIAM PENN.

“ GAWEN LAWRIE.

“ NICHOLAS LUCAS.”

In the early part of the year 1677, many of those who had become proprietors in West New Jersey, left the shores of England to settle on their newly-acquired possessions. The ship sailed from London, and the emigrants, two hundred and thirty in number, consisted of two companies of Friends, one from Yorkshire, and the other from London. The circumstance of so large a number of Friends emigrating in a body to America, was a subject which attracted public attention. The King participated in this feeling, and, meeting the ship, whilst yachting on the Thames, and being informed that the passengers were Quakers who were bound for the new country, "he gave them his blessing."*

After a tedious passage, the ship anchored safely in the waters of the Delaware, and in the Sixth Month the passengers were all landed near Racoon Creek. Almost immediately after they had landed, the Commissioners, acting on the instructions received from William Penn and his colleagues, proceeded further up the Delaware, to the place where Burlington now stands, "to treat with the Indians about the land, and to regulate the settlements." Several purchases of land were made from the natives, but as Friends at the time had not goods sufficient to pay for all they had bought, it was further agreed not to occupy any part until it was all paid for.

A few months after the settlement at Burlington, another ship arrived from London, having on board about seventy passengers. Some of these settled at Salem, and others at Burlington. A vessel also arrived from Hull during the same year with one hundred and fourteen emigrants. In the following year another ship, called the *Shield*, left Hull with above one hundred passengers. In the course of 1678, another ship with emigrants also left London. The number of Friends who emigrated to the new colony during the years 1677 and 1678, is stated to be in all about eight hundred, a large number of whom were persons of property. Up to the year 1681, it is calculated that at least fourteen hundred persons had found their way to the new province.

* Smith's History, p. 93.—Ibid, p. 93.

In common with most of the early emigrants to the western world, the first settlers of West New Jersey were exposed to many hardships and privations. The country was, for the most part, a wilderness, and yielded nothing for the support of man but such as the chace afforded ; and the only dwellings of the settlers during the first winter, were hastily constructed wigwams. But the Christian conduct of Friends towards the Indians had gained their good-will, and enlisted their sympathies, and they were considerably relieved in their difficulties by supplies of corn and venison from these untutored aborigines. The providential manner in which the early settlers of this new colony were cared for, made a deep impression on the minds of many of them, and, sensible that they were regarded by Him who fed Israel in the wilderness, their hearts were lifted up in thanksgiving for the manifestation of his fatherly regard. The following, extracted from a paper written by one of the settlers who embarked from Hull in the *Shield*, in 1678, indicates this feeling, and will be read with interest.

“ The first settlers were mostly of the people called Quakers, who were well-beloved where they came from, and had valuable estates : and though, while they lived in their native country, they had plenty of all necessities, yet their desire to remove to America was so strong, that they could not be content without going thither ; and chose to venture themselves, their wives, children, and all they had, in the undertaking.

“ But, notwithstanding the masters of families were men of good estates, yet, before they could get their land in order, and corn and stock about them, they endured great hardships, and went through many difficulties and straits ; nevertheless, I never perceived any of them to repine, or repent of their coming. As it is said in holy writ, the preparation of the heart in man is of the Lord, so it may well be believed that the hearts of these people were prepared for this service ; even to labour for the replenishing of the land ; it being a wilderness indeed, and they unacquainted with the nature of the soil, and also with the inhabitants ; altogether pilgrims and strangers at their first coming among them.

"A providential hand was very visible and remarkable, in many instances that might be mentioned; and the Indians were even rendered our benefactors and protectors. Without any carnal weapon we entered the land and inhabited therein, as safe as if there had been thousands of garrisons; for the Most High preserved us from harm, both of man and beast.

"The aforesaid people were zealous in performing their religious service; for, having at first no meeting-house to keep public meetings in, they made a tent or covert of sail-cloth to meet under; and after they got some little houses to dwell in, then they kept their meetings in one of them, till they could build a meeting-house. Thomas Olive and William Peachy were two of the first settlers who had a public ministry."*

The emigrant Friends to West New Jersey were individuals who had been awakened to the importance of religion, and who were zealous for the honour of the truth. From the time of their landing they were diligent in assembling for the public worship of the Most High, and having seen in their native land the benefits to be derived from meetings for discipline, in about seven months after Friends landed at Raccoon Creek, a Monthly Meeting was regularly established at Burlington, the records of which commence with the following minute:—

"Since, by the good providence of God, many Friends with their families have transported themselves into this province of West Jersey, the said Friends in these upper parts have found it needful, according to the practice in the place we came from, to settle Monthly Meetings, for the well ordering of the affairs of the church; it was agreed that accordingly it should be done, the 15th of the Fifth Month, 1678."

A care to discourage the sale of strong liquors to the Indians, and arrangements for the relief of their poor members, by instituting monthly collections, were some of the earliest acts of their discipline. Instituting the usual inquiries relative to proposals of marriage also formed no inconsiderable portion of their business. Within three years from the establishment of Burlington

* Proud's History of Pennsylvania, &c., vol. i. p. 157.

Monthly Meeting, thirteen couples, it appears, passed the Monthly Meeting with this object. Another subject which very early claimed their attention, was the propriety of having certificates of removal on behalf of Friends who had emigrated or might emigrate from England ; and with a view to forward this object, the Monthly Meeting, in the year 1680, addressed an Epistle to the Yearly Meeting of London.*

* This Epistle is the earliest, of which we have any record, that was received by the Yearly Meeting of London from any of the meetings in America : we subjoin a copy of it :—

“ TO OUR DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN AT THE YEARLY MEETING
AT LONDON.

“ DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—Whom God hath honoured with his heavenly presence and dominion, as some of us have been eye-witnesses (and in our measures partakers with you) in those solemn annual assemblies ; in the remembrance of which, our souls are consoled, and do bow before the Lord with reverent acknowledgment to him, to whom it belongs for ever. And, dear Friends, being fully satisfied of your love, and care, and zeal for the Lord and his truth, and your travail and desire for the promotion of it, hath given us encouragement to address ourselves to you, to request your assistance in these following particulars, being sensible of the need of it, and believing it will conduce to the honour of God and benefit of his people ; for the Lord having, by an over-ruling providence, cast our lots in these remote parts of the world, our care and desire is, that he may be honoured in us and through us, and his dear truth which we profess may be had in good repute and esteem by those that are yet strangers to it.

“ Dear Friends, our first request unto you is, that in your several counties and meetings out of which any may transport themselves into this place, that you will be pleased to take care that we may have certificates concerning them ; for here are several honest and innocent people that brought no certificate with them from their respective Monthly Meetings, not foreseeing the service of them, and so never desired any, which for the future, in cases of which defect we do entreat you who are sensible of the need of certificates, to put them in mind of them ; for in some cases where certificates are required (and they have none) it occasions a great and tedious delay before they can be had from England, besides the hazard of letters miscarrying, which is very uneasy to the parties immediately concerned, and no ways grateful nor desirable to us ; yet in some cases necessity urgeth it, or we must act very unsafely, and particularly in cases of marriage in which we are often con-

In the year 1681, a considerable number of Irish Friends from Dublin and its vicinity settled in the province. The vessel in which they came belonged to Thomas Lurting, whose name is

cerned. So if the parties that come are single and marriageable at their coming away, we desire to be satisfied of their clearness or unclearness from other parties ; and what else you think meet for our knowledge. And if they have parents, whether they will commit them to the care of Friends in general in that matter, or appoint any particular person whom they can trust. And if any do incline to come that do profess truth, and yet walk disorderly, and so become dishonourable to truth, and the profession they have made of it, we desire to be certified of them and it by some other hand (as there are frequent opportunities from London of doing it), for we are sensible that here are several that left no good savour in their native land from whence they came, and it may be probable that more of that kind may come, thinking to be absconded in this obscure place ; but, blessed be the Lord, he hath a people here whom he hath provoked to a zealous affection for the glory of his name, and are desirous that the hidden things of Esau may be brought to light, and in it be condemned ; for which cause we thus request your assistance, as an advantage and furtherance to that work ; for though some have not thought it necessary either to bring certifies themselves, or require any concerning others, we are not of that mind, and do leave it to the wise in heart to judge whence it doth proceed ; for though we desire this as an additional help to us, yet not as some have surmised, that we wholly build upon it without exercising our own mediate sense as God shall guide us. Some, we know, that have been otherwise deserving, have been unadvisedly denied this their impartial right of a certificate, and very hardly could obtain it, merely through the dislike of some to their undertaking in their coming hither, which we believe to be an injury : and though we would not have any should reject any sound advice or counsel in that matter ; yet we do believe that all the faithful ought to be left to God's direction in that matter ; most certainly knowing by the surest evidence that God hath had a hand in the removal of some into this place, which we desire that all that are inclined to come hither, who know God, may be careful to know before they attempt it, lest their trials become insupportable to them : but if this they know, they need not fear, for the Lord is known by sea and land the shield and strength of them that fear him.

“ And, dear friends, one thing more we think needful to intimate to you, to warn and advise all that come, professing of truth, that they be careful and circumspect in their passage.

“ So, dear friends, this, with what further you may apprehend to tend

conspicuous in the history of Friends. Some of these emigrants settled at Salem, and others at Burlington, but most of them at a new settlement on Newtown Creek. A meeting was settled at this place, and in two years after a meeting-house was built. Previous to this date, a Monthly Meeting, including Friends on Cooper's and Woodbury creeks, had been set up; and, some time after, Friends of Salem and Newtown Monthly Meetings constituted a Quarterly Meeting. Burlington Monthly Meeting consisted of Friends settled about the Falls, and of the particular meetings of Rancocas, Shackamaxon, and Chester, in Pennsylvania. There were also settlements of Friends at the Hoakills and Newcastle. Burlington Quarterly Meeting appears to have been established in 1680; and in 1682, Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting, which had previously belonged to Long Island, was annexed to it. At Burlington Monthly Meeting, in the Third Month, 1681, it was concluded to establish a Yearly

to truth's promotion in this place, we desire your assistance in, which will be very kindly and gladly received by us, who are desirous of an amicable correspondence with you, and do claim a part with you in the holy body and eternal union, which the bond of life is the strength of; in which God preserve you and us who are your friends and brothers.

Thomas Budd.	Rob. Powell.	Scath Smith.
Wm. Peachy.	John Bourton.	Walter Pumphrey.
Wm. Brightown.	Jo. Woolston.	Tho. Ellis.
Tho. Gardiner.	Daniel Leeds.	Samuel Jenings.
Rob. Stacey.	Jo. Butcher.	James Satterthwaite.
Tho. Barton.	Henry Grubb.	John Coips.
John Hollinshed.	William Butler.	

"Several Friends not being present at the said meeting, have since, as a testimony of their unity with the thing, subscribed their names.

Mahlon Stacey.	William Billes.	Abra. Hewlings.
Thomas Lambert.	Tho. Harding.	Peter Fretwell.
John Kinsey.	Wm. Hewlings.	Tho. Eaves.
Samuel Pleft.	Rich. Arnold.	Wm. Clark.
Wm. Cooper.	John Woolman.	John Paine.
John Shin.	John Stacey.	

"From our Men's Monthly Meeting, in Burlington, in West New Jersey, the 7th of the Twelfth Month, 1680."

Meeting, the first to be held in the Sixth Month following. A notice of this conclusion was circulated among Friends of the provinces of East and West New Jersey ; and on the 28th of the Sixth Month, 1681, the meeting assembled at the house of Thomas Gardner, of Burlington. But very little information of the proceedings of this Yearly Meeting, which occupied four days, has been preserved ; the times and places of holding meetings for worship and discipline, however, including a Yearly Meeting for worship to be held in the Second Month at Salem, formed an important part of its deliberations. It was also agreed that the next Yearly Meeting should be held in the Seventh Month of the following year.*

* In "An account of the first settlement of Friends' meetings, &c., in New Jersey," the following particulars appear :—

"About 1670, a meeting was settled at Shrewsbury, Monmouth county, being the first settled meeting of Friends in these provinces. Their first house was built in 1672. About 1670, a Monthly and General Meeting was also held there. The first settlers there were nearly, or quite all, Friends. The first child born there was Elizabeth, daughter of Eliakim Wardell, in 1667. Meetings were probably held there occasionally for a few years previous to the regular settlement of the meeting in 1670.

"At a very early day, a settlement of Friends at Middletown, in the same county, held meetings at each other's houses, but built no house. The Baptists built a meeting-house there, upon ground purchased from Richard Hartshorne, in which he reserved a privilege of holding Friends' meetings when strangers visited them.

"A meeting for worship was held at Amboy, from about 1680, for some time ; then by turns at that place and at Woodbridge. At a very early day, a meeting was held once in three months, on Staten Island, for the sake of the families of John and Daniel Shotwell, who lived there.

"Meetings for worship were first settled at Burlington in 1677, and first held under tents. Afterwards they were held at Friends' houses, till the building of their great meeting-house in 1696.

"Friends at Chesterfield held meetings for some time at private houses.

"In 1687, the meeting-house at Newtown was built ; previous to which meetings were there held at Friends' houses. In 1682, a Monthly Meeting was settled to be held there.

"Salem was the first part of West Jersey settled by the English. The Friends who came with John Fenwick, in 1675, first held their meetings

Among the settlers who had left Great Britain were several who had received a gift in the ministry, and who were felt to be as watchmen among their brethren, under their new circumstances; among these were John Butcher from London; Samuel Jennings from Aylesbury; John Skein from Scotland, Thomas Olive and William Peachey. Samuel Jennings and John Skein both filled the office of Governor.

The progress of Friends in West Jersey had proved in the highest degree satisfactory. "Let every man write according to his judgment," said one of the early settlers, "this is mine concerning this country; I do really believe it to be as good a country as any man need to dwell in.—I cannot but admire the Lord for his mercies, and often in secret bless his name, that ever he turned my face thitherward."* "This is a most brave place," writes another, "whatever envy, or evil spies may speak of it, I could but wish you all here."† "I would not have anything to remain as a discouragement to planters," writes the cautious Samuel Jennings, the governor, in 1680, "here are several good and convenient settlements already, and here is land enough, and good enough for many more."† The encouraging language of the settlers, proved inviting to their brethren in England, and in the year 1682, a ship of considerable size arrived in the Delaware, having on board three hundred and sixty emigrants, who were landed in West Jersey, on the country between Burlington and Philadelphia.

Whilst the English population of West Jersey was thus rapidly increasing, East Jersey made but very slow progress. Sir George Carteret, the proprietor of the latter, died in 1679, and by will directed that East Jersey should be sold in order to pay his debts.

for worship at each other's houses, and sometimes joined with Friends at what was called Robert Wood's landing (now Chester), on the west side of the Delaware. The Monthly Meeting was first set up in 1676. They built a large meeting-house in early times."

* Letter of D. Willis, in Smith's Hist. p. 115.

† Proud's Pennsylvania, vol. i. p. 152.

‡ Smith's Hist.

The success that had attended the colony of West Jersey, under the auspices of Friends, led them very naturally to direct their attention to the intended sale of the adjoining province, and at the instance of William Penn and some other influential members of the Society, it was concluded to purchase East Jersey, and in the Second Month, 1681, it was conveyed by Carteret to the following twelve Friends, viz: William Penn, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groome, Thomas Hart, Richard Mew, Thomas Wilcox, Ambrose Rigge, John Haywood, Hugh Hartsborne, Clement Plumstead, and Thomas Cooper.

The date of this purchase was the era of those civil wars in Great Britain, during which the followers of Cameron in Scotland were hunted with great cruelty by the Royalists. The Quaker Colonies of East and West New Jersey had become popular, and by the persecuted Scots were hailed as a blessing, and considerable numbers of them left their mountainous region to bestow their industry on the forest lands of the Jerseys. The attention of the Scotch was immediately directed to East Jersey in consequence of the original twelve proprietors extending the proprietary to twelve others, several of whom were natives of Scotland and of rank and influence, among whom may be named the Earl of Perth, Lord Drummond, Robert Barclay, Robert Gordon, Aarent Sonnemans, and Gawen Lawrie. "Among the proprietaries," remarks Oldmixon the historian, in alluding to the purchase of East Jersey, "are several extraordinary persons besides Lord Perth, as Robert West, Esq., the lawyer; William Penn the head of the Quakers in England; and Robert Barclay the head of the Quakers in Scotland and Ireland." In the year following that of the purchase, "Robert Barclay of Urie" was elected by the proprietaries as governor for life of East Jersey, who appointed Thomas Rudyard as his deputy, and after him Gawen Lawrie.

Previous to the purchase of the Jerseys by Friends, but few of their gospel ministers who proceeded to America visited this part; the paucity of English settlers in that territory is sufficient to account for this. George Fox passed through it in 1672, and

William Edmundson visited it soon after the landing of John Fenwick. In 1681, Joan Vokins also visited the province.

The attention of George Fox was very early directed to his brethren in the Jerseys, and anxious that, under their new circumstances, the truth might be exalted by a right use of the political power which they had acquired, he was led to exhort them by epistolary communications. "Let your lives, and words, and conversations," he writes in 1676, "be as becomes the gospel, that you may adorn the truth, and honour the Lord in all your undertakings. Let that be your desire, and then you will have the Lord's blessing, and increase both in basket, and field, and storehouse; and at your lyings down you will feel him, and at your goings forth and coming in. And let temperance and patience, and kindness, and brotherly love, be exercised among you, so that you may abound in virtue and the true humility; living in peace, showing forth the nature of Christianity; that you may all live as a family and the church of God."* On another occasion he thus addresses them: "My Friends, that are gone and are going over to plant, and make outward plantations in America, keep your own plantations in your hearts with the spirit and power of God, that your own vines and lilies be not hurt."† "You that are governors and judges, you should be eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, and fathers to the poor, that you may gain the blessing of those who are ready to perish, and cause the widow's heart to sing for gladness. If you rejoice because your hand hath gotten much; if you say to fine gold, 'Thou art my confidence,' you will have denied the God that is above.—The Lord is ruler among nations, he will crown his people with dominion."‡

* Epistles of George Fox, p. 401.

† Ibid. p. 477.

‡ Hazard's Register, p. 200.

CHAPTER XXII.

Early settlement of Friends in Carolina—William Edmundson visits the Colony—Friends the first religious body in North Carolina—The travels of George Fox and others—George Fox's labours among the Indians of Carolina—He addresses Friends of the province—William Edmundson goes on a second visit to the colony—Friends settle in South Carolina—Establishment of Monthly Meetings—The position and influence of Friends in the Carolinas—Letter of George Fox—John Archdale a proprietor and governor of North Carolina—His letter to George Fox—Brief notice of the lives of William Edmundson, John Burnyeat, Robert Widders, James Lancaster, and George Fox—Conclusion.

THE earliest Friends in the Carolinas of whom we have any account, are those of the family of Henry Phillips, who settled on the banks of the Albemarle about the year 1665. He previously resided in New England, where both himself and wife were convinced of the principles of Friends. The settlement of Henry Phillips in Carolina was prior to the scheme of English colonization under the "Constitutions" of Locke, and when some enterprising adventurers had their attention turned to this portion of the new world. One of these, a Barbadoes planter, and the son of an English baronet, was anxious to encourage the influx of New England men. "Make things easy to the people of New England," were his instructions in 1663, "from thence the greatest supplies are expected."

The first gospel minister who appears to have visited Carolina was William Edmundson. He landed in Maryland in the early part of 1672, in company with George Fox and others, and whilst the latter passed northwards to New England, William Edmundson proceeded to visit the plantations in Carolina, accompanied by two Friends whose names are not given. The journey, which

occupied them several days, was a very dangerous and tedious one, the country through which they passed "being all wilderness, and no pathways;" and at times they "were sorely foiled in the swamps and rivers," and at nights, by a watch fire, their only shelter was such as the forests afforded. Having at last reached the river Albemarle, they were warmly received and hospitably entertained at the house of Henry Phillips, and, observes William Edmundson, "not having seen a Friend for seven years before, he and his wife wept with joy to see us."*

At the house of Henry Phillips, a meeting was proposed to be held, and many of the inhabitants attended. The important concerns of religion do not appear to have had much place in the minds of the settlers of Carolina. "They had little or no religion," remarks William Edmundson, "for they came and sat down in the meeting smoking their pipes; but," he continues, "in a little time, the Lord's testimony arose in the authority of his power, and their hearts being reached with it, several of them were tendered and received the testimony." Among those who were present at the meeting was a magistrate, who resided about three miles off, on the south side of the Albemarle, and by whom the gospel truths declared on the occasion were much appreciated. He "received the truth with gladness," and at his desire a meeting was held at his house on the following day, "and," writes William Edmundson, "a blessed meeting it was, for several were tendered with a sense of the power of God, received the truth, and abode in it."† The visit of this gospel labourer to Carolina on this occasion was but short, for, having appointed a meeting for discipline with his brethren of Virginia, but little time was afforded him for religious service in the south.

The European population of Carolina at this period was but small, not exceeding, it is believed, three thousand. Neither city nor township had yet been founded, and scarcely a hamlet was to be seen in the province, or, indeed, one house within sight of another; there were no roads, and the paths from house to house, which were mostly along the banks of the rivers and the inlets, were marked by notches in the trees; and so far from religious

* Journal of W. Edmundson, p. 88.

† Ibid, p. 90.

edifices having been erected, there appears not to have been a religious sect in the colony. "From the commencement of the settlement," says an historian, "there seems not to have been a minister in the land; there was no public worship, but such as burst from the hearts of the people themselves, and when at last William Edmundson came to visit his Quaker brethren among the groves of Albemarle, he met 'with a tender people,' delivered his doctrine 'in the authority of truth,' and made converts to the Society of Friends. A Quarterly Meeting for discipline was established, and this sect was the first to organize a religious government in Carolina."*

Towards the close of 1672, George Fox, Robert Widders, James Lancaster and George Pattison, visited Carolina. "Having," writes George Fox "travelled hard through the woods, and over many bogs and swamps, we reached Bonner's Creek, and there we lay that night by the fire-side, the woman lending us a mat to lie on. This was the first house we came to in Carolina; here we left our horses over-wearied with travel."† From Bonner's Creek they passed down the river Maratuc or Roanoke to Connie Oak Bay and the river Albermarle. With the scattered planters of North Carolina, George Fox and his companions held several meetings, and he observes, "the people were very tender, and very good service we had amongst them." By the authorities they were received with much respect and attention, and they all became the guests of the governor, who, with his wife, "received them lovingly." From the hospitable residence of the governor they travelled about thirty miles to the house of Joseph Scott, "one of the representatives of the country," where they had "a sound and precious meeting." At another meeting "the chief secretary of the province," who "had been formerly convinced," was present, and by whom they were also kindly entertained.

The religious well-being of the Indians of North America was a subject that deeply interested the feelings of George Fox.

* Bancroft's United States, and Martin in Bancroft, vol. i. p. 155, 156.

† Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p. 172.

He longed that the tribes of the western wilderness should be brought to a knowledge of the truth, and in Carolina, as in other parts, he was engaged to hold up to their view the blessings of the everlasting gospel. "I spoke to them," he writes, "concerning Christ, showing them that he died for all men, for their sins, as well as for others, and had enlightened them as well as others; and that if they did that which was evil, he would burn them, but if they did well, they should not be burned."* Anxious that the untutored red men might be instructed in the things of eternal life, George Fox was also led to press their case upon the attention of his American brethren." In all places where you do outwardly live and settle, "he wrote," invite all the Indians, and their kings, and have meetings with them, or they with you; so that you may make inward plantations with the light and power of God." His exhortations were not unheeded. In 1673, we find him thus addressing his friends of Virginia. "I received letters giving me an account of the service some of you had with and amongst the Indian king and his council; and if you go over again to Carolina, you may inquire of Captain Batts, the governor, with whom I left a paper to be read to the Emperor, and his thirty kings under him of the Tuscaroras." At a later date, in addressing Friends of Carolina, he says, "you should sometimes have meetings with the Indian kings and their people, to preach the gospel of peace, of life, and of salvation to them; for the gospel is to be preached to every creature, so that you may come to see the light of Christ's glorious gospel set up in those parts."†

The visit of George Fox to Carolina occupied him about eighteen days. During his subsequent travels his mind, however, was frequently introduced into a feeling of deep solicitude for the religious welfare of his scattered converts in this part, and before he quitted the shores of the western world he was led to address them in the language of encouragement. He exhorted them in their lonely situation, to seek Him who is the fountain

* Journal of George Fox, vol. ii. p 173.

† Epistles of George Fox, p. 463.

and fulness of the Christian's strength ; " to keep their meetings and meet together in the name of Jesus, whose name is above every name, and gathering above every gathering ;" and he endeavoured to impress them with the important truth that " there is no salvation in any other name, but by the name of Jesus." " Gather in his name" he continues, " He is your Prophet, your Shepherd, your Bishop, your Priest in the midst of you, to open to you, and to sanctify you, and to feed you with life, and to quicken you with life ; wait in his power and light, that ye may be the children of the light, and built upon Him the true Foundation."*

During William Edmundson's second visit to America in 1677, the religious welfare of the little society in Carolina was not forgotten by him, and he again travelled south as far as the banks of the Albemarle. " I had," he writes, " several precious meetings in that colony, and several were turned to the Lord ; people were tender and loving ; there was no room for the priests (viz., hirelings), for Friends were finely settled, and I left things well among them."†

Although no gospel labourers had yet visited South Carolina, there were, nevertheless, settlers in that colony who professed with Friends ; and at an early date a Monthly Meeting appears to have been established among them. At Perquimons, in North Carolina, a Monthly Meeting had also been set up, and in 1681, we find George Fox proposing the establishment of a Yearly or Half-yearly Meeting. " If you of Ashley River and that way, and you of Albemarle River and that way," he writes, " had once a year, or once in a half-year, a meeting together, somewhere in the middle of the country, it might be well."

In South Carolina, and also in North Carolina, Friends enjoyed unlimited toleration in religion, and though their number was comparatively small, yet they occupied an influential position in the country. Almost, indeed, from the commencement of the colonial legislature, some of them had been active members of the Assembly. " North Carolina," says the historian Bancroft, who

* Epistles of George Fox, 1672.

† Journal of W. Edmundson.

evidently considered Friends to be the ruling people of the province, "was settled by the freest of the free; by men to whom the restraints of other colonies were too severe. But the settlers were gentle in their tempers, of serene minds, enemies to violence and bloodshed; and the spirit of humanity maintained its influence in the paradise of Quakers."

The responsible position of Friends in Carolina did not escape the vigilant eye of George Fox. He was desirous that in their outward ease and prosperity, they might be preserved in the truth, and in his addresses to them he did not fail to exhort them to much circumspection in their daily walk, and to increased diligence in their heavenly calling. The following is a specimen of one of these communications:—

FROM GEORGE FOX TO FRIENDS IN CHARLESTOWN, CAROLINA.

"DEAR FRIENDS, of the Monthly Meeting of Charlestown, in Ashley Cooper river, in Carolina, I received your letter, dated the sixth day of the Eighth Month, 1682; wherein you give an account of your meeting, and of the country, and of your liberty in that province; which I am glad to hear of, though your Meeting is but small. But however, stand all faithful in truth and righteousness, that your fruits may be unto holiness; and your end will be everlasting life.—

"My desire is, that you may prize your liberty, both natural and spiritual, and the favour that the Lord hath given you, that your yea is taken instead of an oath; and that you do serve both in assemblies, juries and other offices, without swearing, according to the doctrine of Christ: which is a great thing, worth prizing. And take heed of abusing that liberty, or losing the savour of the heavenly salt, which seasons your lives and conversations in truth, holiness, and righteousness: for you know, when the salt hath lost its savour, it is good for nothing but to be trodden under the foot of men.—

"My love to you all in Christ Jesus.—The Lord God Almighty preserve and keep you all holy, pure and clean to his glory.



"London, the 23rd of the Twelfth Month, 1683."

It was about this time that John Archdale, an opulent Friend from England, and one of the eight proprietaries of North Carolina, was residing in the colony. Of the precise date of his arrival we have no account. During his stay he appears to have acted as governor, at least in the absence of Seth Sothel, a co-proprietor, who was elected governor by his partners in 1680. The administration of Sothel gave great dissatisfaction to the colonists. He endeavoured to enforce the obnoxious "Constitutions," but without success. He was accused of acting arbitrarily, and of employing his power to gratify a sordid desire for accumulation. After a few years the settlers deposed him, and the assembly, to whom he appealed, sentenced him to twelve months' banishment, and a perpetual incapacity for the government. It was after his banishment, that John Archdale appears to have been invested with the government.

Whilst engaged in the civil affairs of the province, John Archdale, aware of the strong interest felt by George Fox in the welfare of Friends in the New World, occasionally addressed him. The following is a copy of one of his letters:—

JOHN ARCHDALE TO GEORGE FOX.

"North Carolina, 25th of First Month, 1686.

"DEAR AND HIGHLY-ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I have written unto thee formerly but as yet have received no answer, which makes me doubt the miscarriage of mine: and, indeed, for the present, we have not immediate opportunities to send to England, by reason there is no settled trade thither; which, notwithstanding, may conveniently be effected in its proper season; there being commodities, as tobacco, oil, hides and tallow, to transport thither; and Hollands Busses may come in safety of about 150 tons, drawing about nine feet of water. The country produces plentifully, all things necessary for the life of man, with as little labour as any I have known; it wants only industrious people, fearing God. We at present have peace with all the nations of the Indians; and the great fat King of the Tuscaroras was not long since

with me, having had an Indian slain in these parts: he was informed it was by the English, but upon inquiry I found out the murderer, who was a Chowan Indian, one of their great men's sons, whom I immediately ordered to be apprehended; but the Chowan Indians bought his life of the Tuscarora king for a great quantity of wamp and bage. This Tuscarora king was very desirous to cut off a nation of Indians called the Matchepungoes; which I have at present prevented, and hope I shall have the country at peace with all the Indians, and one with another. The people are very fearful of falling into some troubles again if I should leave them before my brother Sothell returns, which makes my stay the longer. This Tuscarora king seems to be a very wise man as to natural parts; some of the Indians near me are so civilized as to come into English habits, and have cattle of their own, and I look upon their outward civilizing as a good preparation for the gospel, which God in his season without doubt, will cause to dawn among them: I wish all that had it had been faithful, then had the day broken forth in its splendour as it began. I am sure God forsakes none but the unfaithful; who by disobedience are cut off, whereas the obedient come to be grafted into the true stock, through the growth of the holy seed in their minds and hearts. O! that my spirit were thoroughly purged and established by that power which is the Rock of ages, the foundation of all generations; but blessed be God, I possess more than I ever deserved, and desire patiently to wait for the accomplishment of his inward work of regeneration; which is a word easily writ or expressed, but hardly attained. What I writ unto thee in my former, I cannot but again repeat; which is a desire to be had in remembrance by thee, having a faith in the power that was by thee, in this last age of the world, first preached, and convinced me in the beginning, and separated me from my father's house; the sense of which love I desire may for ever dwell upon my spirit, and in the end bring forth the true fruit of regeneration. I wish these parts had been more visited by Friends, if it had been the will of God: however, the immediate sense and growth of the Divine Seed, is encouragement to all that witness the same. Thus

with my true and real love to thee in my measure of the truth, I rest thy loving friend.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Archdale". The letters are fluidly connected, with a prominent flourish at the end of the last name.

A few biographical notices are again introduced. The following relate to some of those whose religious labours have been alluded to in the latter chapters of this volume.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

By his own account, William Edmundson was born in Westmoreland in the year 1627, of parents who, he says, "were well accounted among-men," and who apprenticed him to the trade of a carpenter and joiner, at York. In his youthful days he was much exercised in mind on religious things, and was often brought low under the consideration of his spiritual condition. "The priest and congregation," he remarks, "took notice of me; but none did direct me aright to the physician that could heal my wounded spirit."* On the expiration of his apprenticeship he entered the Parliament army, and in 1650, he served under Cromwell in his Scotch campaign, and in the following year was engaged in the great battle at Worcester. Having married in 1652, he left the army and united with a brother at Antrim, in Ireland, as a shopkeeper, or merchant, "promising," he says, "great matters to ourselves and religion besides."† In the Puritan army, religious subjects were the all engrossing topics of conversation, and William Edmundson heard frequent allusion made to the Quakers; "the priests every where," he found, "were angry against them, and the baser sort of people spared not to tell strange stories of them." But the more he heard of Friends the more he was attracted towards them, and "loved

* Journal, p. 42. † Ibid. p. 44.

them." Having occasion, in 1653, to go on business to the North of England, he first met with Friends, and, by the ministry of George Fox and James Nayler, he was convinced of those spiritual views in religion which in after life he so powerfully advocated.

Subsequent to his uniting with Friends, William Edmundson experienced great spiritual conflicts : his change of view attracted the attention of his neighbours, "some of whom," he says, "would come to gaze on me, jangle and contend against the truth ; some would say I was bewitched ; and others that I was going mad." It was the design of the most High to prepare him as a chosen vessel of his mercy to others, and, patiently enduring all the turnings of his holy hand, he became an able minister of the gospel. He was profound in the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, which were largely communicated to him, and, as a faithful steward, he brought out of his treasury things new and old. It is evident, by the many testimonies given of him, that he was a powerful instrument in turning many to righteousness. In the course of his gospel labours he visited the continent of North America and the West India Islands three times ; he also frequently went on gospel missions to England, and laboured abundantly in different parts of Ireland. During his early travels in the ministry he was several times imprisoned for the truth's sake. His contemporaries describe him as a minister of the gospel, "sound in doctrine and in judgment ; plain in preaching, and free from affectation : in apparel and gesture, grave ; in his deportment, manly ; of few words, and very exemplary in life and conversation ; a man of a thousand for promoting virtue in the many branches thereof, as well as a sharp instrument for threshing and cutting down that which was evil and hurtful in the churches." Although he was a man of but a limited education, he appears to have possessed considerable ability, and, observe some of his friends, "the truth invigorating his understanding, made him bold as a lion." So powerful was his ministry, that he was frequently called "the great hammer of Ireland." He died in the Sixth Month 1712, at the age of eighty-five years, having been a minister fifty-seven years.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

John Burnyeat was born in the parish of Lowswater, in Cumberland, about the year 1631. His parents, who are spoken of as being "of good repute," gave him an education, "suited," says Gough, "to his circumstances and line of life." From early life he was seriously inclined, and took much delight in perusing the Holy Scriptures. In his pursuit after a knowledge of divine things, he sought instruction from those who were regarded as persons of religious experience, but from whom he failed to obtain that true peace and consolation which he sought after. About the twenty-second year of his age George Fox visited Cumberland, by whom he was directed to the inward manifestations of Christ his Saviour, and whose ministry was blessed to his tossed and tried soul. He was now brought to see the emptiness of his former high professions in religion, and that a regenerated heart, and a holy life, were necessary to salvation. "Then," he writes, "began the warfare of true striving to enter the kingdom, and when this war was truly begun, all my high conceit in my invented notional faith, and my pretence and hopes of justification thereby, were overthrown." He subsequently passed through much deep conflict of mind, and after assembling for four years with a little company of Friends who waited mostly in silence, he came forth in the ministry.

The first gospel mission of John Burnyeat was to Scotland in 1658, and in the following year his religious labours were extended to Ireland. Both before and after his visits to America, he also travelled extensively in England. In 1685, he removed to Ireland. During his early travels in the ministry, he was twice imprisoned, once at Carlisle for about five months, and at Ripon in Yorkshire, for three months. In a testimony given forth by the Morning Meeting of London, he is described as an able and powerful minister of the gospel; "a strengthener of the weak, and an encourager of the upright and sincere hearted—a skilful marksman, yea one of the Lord's worthies of Israel; a valiant man in the camp of the Lord, and an undaunted warrior in his holy host; and his bow abode in strength, and wisdom was given him to direct his arrows to the very mark; so that the

were wanted for work were refused the work
 which was a shame and sorrow would
 have been the work of the year and which
 in which he was ultimately ordained for the ministry of
 preaching. His ministry was not without its
 great work and work which God called him to do:—deep in
 his soul reaching into the conscience in every state
 in judgment, and in his ministry for his
 people, and his ministry was not without its
 power and reaching into the conscience in the
 and careful over the flock of God of a cross and ready temper,
 his power: his ministry was not without its
 in mind. He was the father of many children in Christ, who
 through his ministry were brought again to a living hope: and
 the builder up of many through the power of the precious faith of
 God's grace. He had given his heart in power with God and love
 to his people, and God will it all meet: and is entered into
 eternal dominions, to praise the God of his mercies in the living
 family of the spirit of the just for ever.

He died in the Seventh Month 1691, in the fifty-ninth year
 of his age, having been a minister thirty-three years.

JAMES LANCASTER.

James Lancaster resided on the Island of Walney, in Lancashire, and was convinced by George Fox during his first visit to that county in 1652. In the following year he came forth as a minister, and in 1654, went on a gospel mission to Scotland, with Miles Halhead. In 1665, he visited many of the midland counties of England. There was not, perhaps, any one who was so much associated in gospel labours with George Fox as James Lancaster. He not only accompanied him throughout his visit to the western hemisphere, but he was also with him during his visit to Scotland in 1657, and to Ireland in 1669, and on these occasions it appears that he frequently acted as his amanuensis.

ROBERT WIDDERS.

Robert Widders was of Upper Kellat, in Lancashire, where,

Whiting tells us, he was born "of honest substantial parents, about the year 1618." In early manhood he appears to have had living desires after heavenly things, and in 1652, when George Fox visited Lancashire, he was fully convinced of the truths declared by him. He first travelled in the work of the ministry in 1653, to the adjoining county of Cumberland, where he suffered considerable abuse and was imprisoned at Carlisle for about one month. He also was much associated with George Fox in gospel travels. In 1657 he went with him into Scotland, and a few years later throughout most of the western counties of England. He was one who suffered much for his religious testimony, for, in addition to several imprisonments at Lancaster, he was subjected to excessive distrains for tithes. "Many sufferings, trials, and exercises," remarks Whiting, "he went through outwardly and inwardly, being a valiant man for God and his truth; a grave solid man, and had a great discerning of spirits."* He was "a thundering man," says George Fox, "against hypocrisy, deceit, and the rottenness of the priests."† He died in the First Month, 1687, about the sixty-eighth year of his age.

GEORGE FOX.

George Fox was born at Drayton-in-the-Clay, in Leicestershire, in the year 1624. His parents, who were in respectable circumstances, and esteemed for their piety and integrity, gave him an education suited to the sphere in which they moved, and brought him up in the worship of the national church. His mother, who was a woman of superior qualifications, and accomplished beyond those of her class, took notice of the religious gravity and observing mind which he evinced even from his childhood. In the eleventh year of his age, he was, by his own account, favoured with clear views of righteousness and purity, and was taught of the Lord to be "faithful in all things—inwardly to God and outwardly to man." The questions he would put, and the answers he would give respecting Divine things, even in early boyhood, were such as to cause astonishment to those who heard him. His employment during his apprenticeship was mostly in keeping sheep, an

* Whiting's Memoirs.

† Journal of G. Fox, vol. i, p. 442.

engagement in which he was skilful, and took much delight. At the termination of his apprenticeship, being then in his nineteenth year, he returned to his parents ; religious things, however, had the predominance in his mind, and he was led to be very circumspect in all his words and actions. For about three years subsequently, he spent his time in moving from place to place in some of the midland counties of England, and during this period he underwent a variety of probations, and advanced in religious experience and the work of sanctification.

At times in his solitary wanderings his mind was brought under deep anguish, and he was tempted almost to despair. In reference to this season he thus remarks : " I fasted much, and walked abroad in solitary places many days, and often took my Bible and went and sat in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on, and frequently in the night walked mournfully about by myself : for I was a man of sorrows, in the times of the first working of the Lord in me." As his troubles were great, so also at times his consolations abounded, and he adds, " Though my exercises and troubles were very great, yet were they not so continual but that I had some intermission, and was sometimes brought into such a heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me ; so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery. Oh, the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress ! when my troubles and torments were great, then was his love exceeding great."

About the twenty-third year of his age he came forth in the work of the ministry, in which he laboured most devotedly throughout the remainder of his eventful life. His interesting journal contains a full account of his travels and services in the gospel ; it is, therefore, needless for us to make any allusion to them here. He was the first who preached the gospel principles of our religious Society, and as such has been aptly called " the founder of the Quakers." " He was a man," says Ellwood, raised up by God in an extraordinary manner, for an extraordinary work, even to awaken the sleeping world, by proclaiming the mighty day of the Lord to the nations.—He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in labouring in

it, steady in his testimony to it; unmoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly mysteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer.* There were few, if any, who had better opportunities of forming an estimate of the character of George Fox than William Penn, and to whom posterity is indebted for the following testimony respecting him :—

“ He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth : a discerner of others’ spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though that side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would seem to fall from him, about divine things, it is well-known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it showed, beyond all contradiction, that God sent him, in that no arts or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man’s wit or wisdom to recommend them.

“ In his testimony or ministry, he much laboured to open truth to the people’s understandings, and to bottom them upon Christ Jesus, the light of the world; that by bringing them to something that was from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

“ He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them, with much plainness and to great comfort and edification.

“ The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and the gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant’s and the son’s state, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in Christ, and by Christ the true light, in all that are his, through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and

T. Ellwood’s Testimony.

drift of his testimonies : in all which, he was witnessed to be of God ; being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ and was his own experience in that which never errs nor fails.

“ But above all, he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his, in prayer. And truly it was a testimony, he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men ; for they that know Him most, will see most reason to approach Him with reverence and fear.

“ He was of an innocent life ; no busy-body, nor self-seeker ; neither touchy nor critical : what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that every where, and in all ; but with love, compassion, and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and savour amongst them ; and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

“ He was an incessant labourer ; and as he was unwearied, so he was undaunted, in his services for God and his people ; he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath : his behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster Hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it, to his enemies as well as his friends.

“ And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, yet he never abused it ; but held his place in the Church of God with great meekness and a most engaging humility and moderation ; for, upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all ; holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the Head, and care over the body : and was received, only in that Spirit and power of

Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age ; who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so, for the same reason, it was given by the faithful of this day ; because his authority was inward, not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and the power of an endless life. I write my knowledge, and not report ; and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature ; and that by day and by night, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries ; and I can say I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion."

The earnest solicitude of George Fox for the prosperity of the truth was the predominating feeling of his mind to his last moments, and shortly before his close he addressed an epistle "to the Churches of Christ throughout the whole world." But the welfare of his brethren in the western world claimed his particular attention at this solemn period, and "mind poor Friends in America" was nearly his last request. His decease took place at London in the Eleventh Month, 1690, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. "I have done," says William Penn, in concluding his testimony, "when I have left this short epitaph to his name :—Many sons have done virtuously in this day, but, dear George, thou excelled them all."

A history of the Society of Friends in America for about twenty-five years from its rise on that continent, has been now related. In that land, as in almost every other Protestant country where its principles had been enunciated, many, as we have seen, soon openly professed them, and at the period to which this history has been brought down, the Society had extended itself throughout all the English colonies of the New World. The Yearly Meetings of New England and Burlington had been established, and Half-Yearly Meetings were held respectively on Long Island, and in Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. In Newfoundland also there were at this early period some who professed our principles,* whilst John

* Vide Appendix to Leonard Bacon's *Thirteen Historical Discourses*, &c., p. 378.

Bowron,* and, it appears, Henry Fell† also had declared them as far south as Surinam, now Dutch Guiana. But even in the short space of a quarter of a century the Society had not only become a numerous body in America, but highly influential also. The governments of Rhode Island, East New Jersey and West New Jersey were entirely in the hands of Friends; in North Carolina they were regarded as the ruling people of the province, and in Maryland they took a prominent part in the local legislature; and all this was before the great colony of Pennsylvania had been founded.

The relation given in the foregoing pages, furnishes abundant evidence that it was in the ordering of Him who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, that this people occupied so conspicuous a place in the early history of the colonies of the New World. The testimony which they bore to the spirituality of the religion of Christ in the disuse of forms and ceremonies in worship, and to the unauthorised assumption of the priesthood in the things of God; to the perceptible guidance of the Holy Spirit, so little recognised by professing Christendom in that age, and to the peaceable character of the gospel dispensation, could not fail to exert a powerful influence for good on the rising population of that land, and to promote the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the hearts of the children of men.

* Memoir of John Bowron, in *Piety Promoted*, part i.

† Swarthmore MSS.

**NON
CIRCULATING**